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**THE UNITED STATES CATHOLIC
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CATHOLIC HISTORICAL RECORDS AND STUDIES

SISTERHOODS IN THE SPANISH AMERICAN WAR

BY SISTER MARY MAGDALEN WIRMEL, O.S.F.

INTRODUCTION

IN THE province of Mantua, Italy, the Tower of San Martino, commanding a splendid view and containing a military museum, commemorates the victory which was decisive in securing Italian Independence. The French and Sardinian forces under Napoleon III defeated the Austrians there on June 24, 1859, in the memorable battle of Solferino.

After the long, continuous, sixteen hour struggle was ended not less than thirty-six thousand lay dead or were wounded and disabled on the field. For days after the battle many of the dead remained unburied, and the wounded lay where they fell, or crawled away as best they could for shelter and help. The medical staff was wholly insufficient both in number and equipment.

Jean Henri Dunant, a philanthropic Swiss gentleman traveling near the field, joined in the work of relief, but the inadequacy of preparation and consequent suffering of the wounded impressed him so deeply that he was impelled to write a book, *Un Souvenir de Solferino*, in which he described the dreadful scenes he had witnessed and urged a world-wide organization of civil societies to care for the wounded and to co-operate with the work of the surgeon.¹

Monsieur Dunant supplemented this publication by a series of lectures before the Society of Public Utility of Geneva, of which Gustav Moynier, a man of independent fortune, was then president. Dr. Louis Appia, a physician and lover of suffering humanity, and Adolph Ador, a counsellor of repute in Geneva, became interested in the views of Monsieur Dunant and together with him they

¹*History of Nations* (New York, 1928), Italy, IV, 373.

enlisted the co-operation of General Dufour of the Swiss Army.² A meeting of the society was called to consider a proposition relative to the formation of permanent societies for the relief of wounded soldiers. This conference took place February 9, 1863. A committee was appointed with Monsieur Moynier at its head to study methods by which the best results might be obtained, while it was further announced that a more general meeting would be called for the twenty-sixth of October to which persons from other countries who were known to entertain like views would be invited. At the appointed time this international conference was held and continued its sessions for four days. At the end it was decided to call an international convention at Geneva in the autumn of 1864.³

For the successful prosecution of the work of the new society it was necessary to obtain the co-operation of some of the more important States of Europe in a treaty which should recognize the neutrality of the hospitals established, of the sick and the wounded, and of all persons and effects connected with the relief service; and also to decide upon a uniform which might serve as a sign or badge of protection.

The Committee soon secured the concurrence of the Swiss Federal Council and of the Emperor, Napoleon III. Shortly afterwards it procured the signatures of ten other governments, which were given August 22, 1864, in the city hall of Geneva. This was called the Convention of Geneva. At this meeting the protective sign was decided upon. It was to consist of a red cross on a white field, which was to be worn on the arm by all persons acting with or in the service of the committee enrolled under the Convention. The red cross was chosen out of compliment to the Swiss Republic, where the first Convention was held, and in which the central committee has its headquarters. However, the Swiss flag of a white cross on a field of red was not to be copied exactly; the emblem of the new organization was to consist of a red cross on a field of white, a mere reversal of the Swiss arrangement. The treaty itself provides for the neutrality of all sanitary supplies, surgeons, nurses, attendants, and sick or wounded men, and their safe conduct when they bear the Red Cross sign of the organization.⁴

²Clara Barton, *The Red Cross* (New York, 1899), 23.

³*Ibid.*, 24.

⁴*Ibid.*, 25.

Although the Convention which originated the organization was necessarily international, it was decided that the relief societies themselves were to be entirely national and independent, each one governing itself and making its own laws, according to the genius of its needs and its nationality.

In the meantime the attitude of the American Government toward the society was interesting. On two separate occasions the United States had been formally presented with an invitation to join the Society, once in 1864, through George G. Fogg, of New Hampshire, the American Minister at Berne, who was present at the Convention, and again in 1868, through the Reverend Dr. Henry W. Bellows.⁵ But both invitations were unheeded, and no satisfactory or adequate reason was given to explain the attitude taken by the Government.

In 1877 another attempt was made by Monsieur Moynier, President of the International Committee of Geneva, to the President of the United States, asking once more that the American Government accede to the articles of the Convention. This time the official bearer of the letter was Miss Clara Barton, a well known social and relief worker of the United States. Miss Barton presented the letter to President Rutherford B. Hayes who received it kindly and who referred it to Secretary of State, William M. Evarts. The request was in turn referred to the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Frederick Seward of New York. Miss Barton was quick to observe that the decision to be reached would depend not upon the Department of State but upon the man who had been the Assistant Secretary of State when the treaty had been presented to the Government of the United States in 1864 and 1868, respectively. Hence she was not surprised when no action was taken in this instance also.

The next administration, however, was more favorably disposed to examine into the merits of the Geneva Treaty. One of the last acts of President James A. Garfield was to pledge himself to urge

⁵Reverend Henry W. Bellows (1814-1882), was a Unitarian clergyman, public speaker and writer. He became pastor of All Souls Church, New York, in 1839. He won distinction as a zealous promoter and great leader of war relief and was chief originator of the United States Sanitary Commission, an organization formed during the Civil War primarily for the care of the sick and wounded soldiers of the Union Army. Cf. *American Encyclopedia* (New York, 1928), XX, 491.

upon the representatives of his people in Congress assembled the great national step for the relief and care of wounded soldiers.⁶

In November, 1881, the subject of the Geneva Treaty was placed before President Chester A. Arthur, who was further informed of the desire of President Garfield that the United States should give its consent to that international compact. The President responded in a cordial and favorable manner and in his first annual message to the forty-seventh Congress recommended the acceptance of the Geneva Treaty. The Senate referred this part of the message to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, with the result that a favorable report was rendered not long afterwards. President Arthur signed the Treaty on March 1, 1882. That same day a cablegram was sent to President Moynier of the International Committee at Geneva, informing him that the United States had at last ratified the Red Cross Treaty.

Thus the United States became the thirty-second nation to adhere to the Treaty of August 22, 1864, and the first to adopt the amendment proposed on October 20, 1868, to extend to the Navy the advantages of the Geneva Treaty.⁷

While occasions which called for the services of the American Red Cross soon presented themselves in fires, floods and pestilence, the first opportunity for aiding stricken American soldiers presented itself in 1898 at the time of the Spanish American War. At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the American National Red Cross, on April 23, a committee was appointed to be responsible for a supply of nurses for the duration of the war and Sister-in-Chief Bettina,⁸ Mrs. Bettina Lesser, executive surgeon and chief of hospital work, had a seat on this committee, which began at once to plan for calls for nurses. It may be said, therefore, that the Red Cross Nursing Service was historically anticipated at that meeting by that committee. Soon afterwards its services were formally placed at the disposal of the Government by Dr. A. Monae Lesser, Surgeon-in-Chief of the American National Red Cross, and husband of Sister-in-Chief Bettina Lesser, whereupon the then Secretary of State, William R. Day, made it known that the American Red Cross

⁶Cf. Clara Barton, *The Red Cross*, 57-58.

⁷Clara Barton, *op. cit.*, 74.

⁸Mrs. Bettina Lesser was known in the Red Cross organization as Sister-in-Chief Bettina.

would be recognized as "the proper and sole representative in the United States of the International Committee."⁹ Thus the official status of the Red Cross was fixed by the United States Government Dr. A. Monae Lesser's report, written after these important events, reads in part as follows:

Immediately after the declaration of war with Spain, I received the order from the president of the American National Red Cross to the effect 'that the Red Cross Hospital Department shall be ready for service in the war.' By the direction of the president, Miss Barton, all applications for enlistment and communications relating to this service were sent to the New York Red Cross Hospital. A certain standard of experience and character was established as necessary for enlistment on our staff. A number of applications from physicians, nurses and other assistants were received . . . and those whose qualifications and recommendations seemed satisfactory were chosen and placed upon a list for further investigation and final selection. From the large number of names of trained and other nurses the Sister-in-Chief and I selected men who we believed would be physically able to carry wounded soldiers, also trained nurses and gentlewomen who seemed least susceptible to disease.¹⁰

A Woman's Committee on Auxiliaries, charged with the duty of organizing Auxiliary Committees throughout the United States to assist in the Red Cross work, was appointed by a resolution of the Executive Committee. The chief object of the auxiliaries was to collect money to be used in any form of Red Cross work found to be necessary in field or hospital service. Nearly \$300,000 were spent on requisitions which came in from every camp and hospital in the United States, as well as from Cuba and Puerto Rico. Everything was furnished promptly on demand. When the yacht *Red Cross* left the New York pier on June 29, 1898, for Cuba, she was freighted with all sorts of commodities conducive to the comfort and welfare of the soldiers, such as medical and surgical supplies, delicacies for the sick, groceries, clothing and blankets,

⁹Clara Barton, *op. cit.*, 377.

¹⁰*Conduct of the War with Spain*, Surgeon General's Report, V, 2384. It is also found in the *American National Relief Committee Reports*, May, 1898-March, 1899 (New York), 174.

and even a Roentgen Ray apparatus under the charge of a medical student who volunteered for that particular purpose.¹¹

During the summer and autumn of the year 1898 more than five hundred requisitions had been received. As the majority of these orders called for hundreds and even thousands of items, the work involved in the selection and packing of these supplies reached gigantic proportions. One requisition for groceries and delicacies for the sick at the Leiter Hospital, Chickamauga, Georgia, was filled at a cost of \$2,000.¹² After the battle of San Juan, on July 2, the activity at the Red Cross rooms was given an accelerated tempo, and it was a red letter day for the volunteer workers when bales of supplies were made up for the famous Rough Riders.¹³

Meanwhile the conditions at Chickamauga, Jacksonville and at other camps were greatly improved upon the receipt of supplies from Red Cross headquarters; even milk, ice and eggs were provided in the fever hospitals by the Red Cross agents. When the Spanish prisoners were taken to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, after the destruction of Cervera's fleet, the conditions were so pitiable that without receiving any formal requisition the Red Cross Committee decided to send at once to Seavey's Island, where the camp was established, several cases of clothing, bedding, groceries and other necessities. Cots were provided for the barracks hospital, where several male nurses did excellent work.¹⁴

Perhaps the greatest strain on the Supply Committee came after the opening of Camp Wikoff, at Montauk Point, Long Island. Here a dangerous lack of drinking water, due to the unfinished condition of the wells, called for prompt attention. It was through the co-operation of the Standard Oil Company that the Red Cross were able to convey drinking water from Jamaica, Long Island, to Camp Wikoff. At Long Island City the situation was particularly critical. Often the soldiers would arrive in so exhausted a condition as to be found unconscious on the sidewalks and ferry boats; often they were without money to buy nourishment. Finally, a

¹¹*American National Red Cross Relief Committee Reports*, May, 1898; March, 1899 (New York), 14.

¹²*Ibid.*, 17.

¹³*Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 19.

thoroughly aroused citizenry came to the rescue, asking that a Red Cross Relief Station be opened at Long Island City, in a building annexed to the railway and a few steps from the ferry. By this time most of the hospitals in and around New York were filled with fever patients sent from Montauk Point or from the transports arriving in New York harbor. As a result, the hospitals at Governors Island, St. Peter's and St. Joseph's in Brooklyn, as well as Bellevue, St. Vincent's, Roosevelt, the Presbyterian and others in New York were crowded with soldiers. In addition to the regular hospitals, a number of convalescent homes were started for soldiers who were unfit to travel on long journeys, or who, still exhausted from illness and fever, needed nursing and good food to restore their physical well-being. From all these places requisitions were coming in, as well as from Puerto Rico and from the Philippines. Indeed, from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars were spent in general supplies during the autumn of 1898. The number of requisitions to be filled during the winter was small, but the need of caring for the "mustered out" volunteer soldiers became a major problem.¹⁵

Meanwhile another organization was doing yeoman service. This was the Daughters of the American Revolution. A woman's patriotic society organized in Washington, D.C., October 11, 1890, it has as its objective the perpetuation of the spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence and the promotion of certain institutions for the general diffusion of patriotic knowledge. It also wishes to cherish, maintain and extend American freedom, to foster true patriotism and love of country, and to aid in securing for mankind all the blessings of liberty. Membership is restricted to women at least one of whose ancestors aided in the establishment of American Independence. The National Society was incorporated by Act of Congress in 1898,¹⁶ and shortly afterwards found itself called to one of the most patriotic of all services.

The chief work of the Daughters of the American Revolution during the Spanish American War was the aid it gave to the Government in the securing of nurses. As the war progressed it became evident that disease, especially fever, was more to be dreaded in Cuba

¹⁵Helen Fidelia Draper, *Report of the National Red Cross Relief Committee*, May, 1898-March, 1899, 13-20.

than the bullets of the enemy, and hence once that the dangers of the climate were realized, the efforts of the surgeons were directed to the speedy transportation of the wounded and the sick to the mainland. Hence the necessity of securing hospitals and hospital camps became urgent. Female nurses were required, of course, but the Government was unwilling to engage these individually or to employ any organization which might provide them without a system of contracts. At this point the Daughters of the American Revolution came forward and offered to undertake the work of examining, engaging and transporting the nurses required for hospital duty. With this object in view, therefore, Dr. Anita Newcomb McGee, one of the officers of the Daughters of the American Revolution, who afterwards was made an acting assistant surgeon in the United States Army, aided by Miss Ella Loraine Dorsey, a Catholic author and former Vice-President of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and by other members of this organization, agreed to take charge of securing all the nurses needed.¹⁷

It was Miss Dorsey who undertook to supply the Catholic nursing Sisters. Through her efforts alone two hundred and thirty-five Sisters were examined and transported to their respective destinations in time to bring comfort, material and spiritual, to the thousands of soldiers to whom they ministered.¹⁸

On August 23, 1898, Miss Dorsey wrote a letter to the superiors of various Congregations, telling of the help which was so greatly needed, and inclosing qualification slips prepared by the Surgeon General setting forth the requisites of service, and also adding that only hospital experience was to be accepted as an equivalent of graduation. The Sisters were to take the oath of allegiance to the United States of America and to accept thirty dollars a month as remuneration for their services. She concluded by asking for a list of the Sisters available as nurses, not only by their names in Religion but by their family names as well. She also asked to be informed of their special qualifications as Religious nurses.¹⁹ Her

¹⁶*American Encyclopedia* (New York, 1928), VIII, 493.

¹⁷Edward S. Ellis, *History of Our Country* (Ohio, 1910), VIII, 2058.

¹⁸Alice Worthington Winthrop, "The Work of the Sisters in the War With Spain," *Ave Maria* (September 23, 1899), XLIX, 387.

¹⁹*The American Monthly Magazine*, October 11, 1897-October 11, 1898, 379.

appeal met a generous response from a number of American Sisterhoods. She was soon able to present under contract one hundred and ninety-six Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, Maryland; twelve Sisters of the Holy Cross of Notre Dame, Indiana; thirteen Sisters of Mercy of Baltimore, Maryland; eleven Sisters of St. Joseph of St. Louis, Missouri; and four Sisters of the Congregation of American Sisters of Fort Pierre, South Dakota.²⁰

There were other Sisters who rendered service but who were not under contract. They were the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary of Key West, Florida; the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky; the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Mercy in San Francisco, California; the Sisters of St. Francis of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and the Sisters of St. Joseph of St. Augustine, Florida. A consideration of the work of all these Sisterhoods is an important chapter in the history of the Spanish American War as well as that of nursing in America.

From the middle of August to the end of September of 1898 marks the peak of the nursing activities of the Sisters during the Spanish American War. A number of soldiers in Cuba had contracted yellow fever, but this was as nothing compared to the epidemic of typhoid and malaria which had broken out in the eastern part of the United States among the soldiers. It was at this time also, that seventeen hundred women nurses were serving on three ships and in forty-two places, nine of which were camps in various parts of the country. Most of these stations were located along the Atlantic seaboard, beginning at the extreme southern end and extending as far north as New Hampshire, at which place Spanish prisoners and wounded were detained until after hostilities. In Florida were the United States Army General Hospital at Key West; the hospital of the Fourth Army Corps in Tampa; the Third Division Field Hospital and the Fourth Army Corps Hospital in Fernandina, and the Camp Cuba Libre and the Army Corps hospitals in Jacksonville; in Georgia, the General Hospital at Fort McPherson, Atlanta; and the Leiter United States Hospital, the Sternberg General Hospital and the Third Division Hospital, First Army Corps, later called the Sanger-Hoff, at Chickamauga Park; in Kentucky, the General Hospital at Fort

²⁰*Senate Document*, 3877, 56th Congress, 1st Session, 229.

Thomas, and Camp Hamilton near Lexington; in Maryland, the hospital of the Camp at Sheridan's Point; in New York, the General Hospital and the General Hospital Annex, Camp Wikoff, Montauk Point, and the Hospital at Camp Black Hempstead, Long Island; in Virginia, the General Hospital at Fort Meyer, the General Hospital at Fortress Monroe, and the hospital at Camp Alger, Falls Church; in California, the Camp Hospital at San Francisco; in Cuba, the various hospitals at Santiago; in Puerto Rico, the division hospitals at Guayama, Mayaguez and Utuado, and finally the hospital ships on the Atlantic.²¹

This dissertation tells the story of the work of the American Catholic Sisterhoods during the Spanish American War, 1898-1899. Almost half a century has passed since band after band of these Religious went out from their convents, their hospitals and their schools, in response to appeals which came from various sources, and yet little has been written on the part taken by them as a body in the camps, on the ships at sea, and in the hospitals set up to take care of the sick and wounded during the war.

In order to present such an account recourse was had to the archival sources of the various Mother Houses, to the collections of printed sources from the American National Red Cross, the Daughters of the American Revolution and the War Department, and from contemporary newspapers and periodicals. The records are meager, chiefly because of the short duration of the war and because Religious chronicle few of their activities, especially when these activities are those for which they have expressly dedicated their lives. Nevertheless, sufficient information was obtainable to give a story important from both a religious and social point of view. In fact, it is of such importance that it should be put down in orderly permanent form.

I am grateful to the following who have assisted me in the preparation of this essay: Mother Paula, Superior of the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, Maryland; Sister M. Louis Gabriel, Archivist of the Convent of Mary Immaculate, Key West, Florida; Sister Mary Paul, Archivist of the Mother House of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Carondelet, Missouri; Sister M. Julia, Archivist of St. Joseph's Convent, St. Augustine, Florida; Mother M. Vin-

²¹*Senate Document*, 3877, fifty-sixth Congress, first session, 231.

centia, Superior General of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, Notre Dame, Indiana; Mother M. Placida, Provincial of the Sisters of Mercy, Mount Washington, Maryland; Sister M. Paschal, Archivist of the Mother House of the Sisters of Mercy, Burlingame, California; Mother Ann Sebastian, Superior of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky, and Sister M. Evrard, directress of nurses, St. Agnes Hospital, Sisters of St. Francis, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the Reverend Doctor Joseph B. Code, of the faculty of the Catholic University of America, to whom I am especially indebted for suggesting this piece of work and for his direction and help in the preparation of it. I am also grateful to Doctor Richard J. Purcell, who read the manuscript and who offered valuable suggestions.

CHAPTER I

THE SISTERS OF THE HOLY NAMES OF JESUS AND MARY

While the legislatures and general public were discussing the question as to whether or not the United States should go to war and even before the Daughters of the American Revolution or the National Red Cross began active work to provide nurses and other assistance, the far-seeing Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary of Key West, Florida, began to prepare for future contingencies.¹ It is interesting to note that these Sisters who were to do such splendid hospital service in the Spanish American War should have been established as a Community devoted primarily to teaching. It is also interesting to note that they were not founded primarily for the education of youth in the United States but for school work in Canada. Their date of foundation goes back to 1843, when the Right Reverend Ignatius Bourget, Bishop of Montreal, greatly in need of Sisters for a school in Longueuil, asked Bishop Eugene de Mazenod of Marseilles for a colony of Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary who had their Mother House in this diocese. Bishop Mazenod requested Mother Saint Augustin, the foundress of the Community, to send some of her Religious to Canada, but she did not feel the time opportune to send any of her Sisters to America.

A second attempt was made late in May of 1843, when Father Pierre Telmon, a missionary of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, decided to go to France to seek educators for the children of the people under his charge and if possible to bring with him from Marseilles the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary. But Father Telmon also met with a refusal, for the young Community was not prepared to send any of its members to America.

On August 10, 1843, however, Bishop Mazenod wrote to Bishop Bourget that it was not possible to persuade the Superior, Mother Saint Augustin, to give even two or three of her daughters that year, but added, "if you have some capable persons, virtuous and willing, what is to prevent them from joining and commencing

¹George Barton, "A Story of Self-Sacrific," Records of the *American Catholic Historical Society* (June 1926), XXXVII, 117.

the good work themselves.”² This appealed to Bishop Bourget who had been witnessing in his midst the remote preparation for the religious life of two young women, Eulalie Durocher and Melodie Dufresne, who had wished to consecrate themselves to God and who had hoped to join the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary upon their arrival in America. Deciding to go ahead with his own foundation, Bishop Bourget suggested to Eulalie that she adopt the title, habit and rules of the Sisters of Marseilles, to which the young woman complied despite certain opposition on the part of her family who wished her to join no other Congregation than one already established in Canada. She saw God’s will in the command of her Ordinary, and hence both she and Melodie began on October 28, 1843 their novitiate. Shortly afterward they were joined by another young woman, Henrietta Céré, who had been conducting a school in Montreal. After months of careful training the three on February 28, 1844, were given the religious habit and new names within their own convent chapel.³ Eulalie was to be known as Sister Mary Rose, Henrietta Céré as Sister Mary Magdalen, and Melodie became Sister Mary Agnes. A model of the religious habit of the Sisters of the Holy Names had been sent by the Sisters from Europe, whereas the Rule also received from abroad was modified by Bishop Bourget to meet the needs and the peculiar conditions of Canada.⁴ They made their profession December 8, 1844, and began their great work of education immediately.

In less than twenty years schools had been established by the Sisters of the Holy Names in many sections of the United States and Canada. In 1868 a group arrived in Key West, Florida, where they opened two schools, one for the whites and one for the Negroes, both of which were in a flourishing condition when the difficulties arose between Spain and the United States over Cuba.

It was while the graduation exercises were in progress at the Carlos Opera House for the students at the Academy of Mary Immaculate, Key West, on the evening of February 15, 1898, that the United States battleship *Maine* was blown up in the harbor

²Reverend Pierre Duchaussois, *Rose of Canada* (Montreal, 1924), 122.

³Reverend Joseph B. Code, *Great American Foundresses* (New York, 1929), 386.

⁴*Ibid.*, 387.

of Havana and two hundred and sixty officers and men lost their lives.⁵ The Spanish Government expressed its sorrow over the incident, but the conviction that the battleship had been deliberately destroyed by the Spaniards seized the people of the United States. With the declaration of War the Sisters of the Holy Names of Key West, because of their proximity to Cuba, knew that they would be dangerously near the war zone and their services would undoubtedly be needed. In fact, even before the formal declaration of war, Sister M. Florentine, Superior of the Convent, called on Commander James M. Forsyth, of the United States Naval Station at Key West, to place the convent of the Sisters, as well as St. Joseph's and St. Xavier's schools, at the disposal of the Government for hospital purposes and to offer the services of the Sisters for nursing work. Explicitly stating that the Sisters would not expect remuneration from the Government, or for the use of the buildings, Sister Florentine asked only that the schools be returned in as good a condition as the Government officials would find them in case they would be converted into hospitals.

The offer was accepted by Admiral William T. Sampson, then on board the flagship *New York* off Key West, on April 8, 1898, and by Commander Forsyth of the Naval Station, Key West, April 11, 1898.⁶ Dr. W. R. Hall, Major and Surgeon of the United States Army, arrived at the Convent on April 21 to examine the buildings. The following day the pupils were dismissed and within two days all school equipment was placed in storage in one of the buildings of the city. The Sisters kept for their own use the smallest possible quarters. Soon the convent and schools took on the appearance of a modern hospital; the first floor, formerly used for classrooms, was turned into an immense ward, with long rows of cots on each side, and the second floor was converted into a dispensary, into an operating room with all appliances used in modern surgery, and into an office for the Chief Surgeon.⁷ Upon the completion of arrangements there was room for four-hundred patients within the buildings and in case of emergency one-hundred hospital tents were erected outside under the palm trees. Four

⁵*The Key West Citizen*, Key West Florida (October 24, 1938).

⁶Archives of Mary Immaculate Convent, Key West, Florida.

⁷*Ibid.*

trained nurses from the North were engaged, and while waiting for active duty, instructed the twenty-three Sisters of the Holy Names in the preliminary steps to be taken in giving first aid to the injured. To add to the efficiency of the new hospital, thirteen doctors, nine trained nurses, thirty-one male orderlies, ten stewards and three druggists were added to the staff.

On May 9, one of the first patients to be admitted to the hospital was the Reverend John Chidwick, chaplain of the ill-fated *Maine*, later rector of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York, who had been stricken with erysipelas. Three day later Lieutenant Bernadou, of the torpedo boat, the *Winslow*, with five sailors, all of whom had been wounded when a Spanish shell burst on the deck, entered the hospital. Daily the number of patients increased until finally after the battle of Santiago more than three hundred wounded were brought in from the battleship *Iroquois*. At this time the patients in the hospital who were on the road to recovery were removed to tents to make room for the new arrivals. Of this incident, one of the Sisters who was present writes :

It was a never to be forgotten day when the sick, the bruised, the mangled bodies of soldiers were brought to the hospital. Everywhere delirious, blood-clotted men could be seen waiting patiently until the difficult and distressing duty of cleansing their wounds was undertaken by the nurses, while the doctors applied the more skillful surgical treatment. Throughout the night warm solutions were applied to the cruel adhesions.

Hope was revived in the heart of the patient when the agony of physical torture was removed. At daybreak when all soldier-patients had been placed in snow-white beds and dressed in comfortable hospital garments the wards re-echoed with remarks: 'Oh, this is heaven,' 'This is too good to be true,' 'Am I living or dead' . . . ⁸

The work of healing went on. Some of the men died but the greater number responded to the nursing of the Sisters. Then came the battle of San Juan. One of those who had joined the Rough Riders was Mason Mitchell, who was well known in those days as an actor. During the first day of the battle he was severely wounded by an exploding shell and was taken to Key West where

⁸Archives of Mary Immaculate Convent, Key West, Florida.

he was placed in the Convent hospital. Later in speaking of his stay there, he said:

I feel that I owe my life to the kindness and good care of the nuns in the hospital at Key West. Words fail me when I try to express my admiration for those noble women who devote their lives so unselfishly to the care of their fellow-creatures who are in distress.⁹

Although the hospital did not remain long in Key West yet there are on record a number of testimonials to the excellence of the work done in it, most of which are from non-Catholic sources. The *Christian Advocate* of October 27, 1898, carried the following article, written by Dr. W. R. Helms, Protestant Chaplain of the flagship *Lancaster*:

Busied with the problems of glory that concern our great heroes of army and navy, it may be difficult to attract the minds of readers away from these great focal points of interest long enough to tell a simple story of lives that, filled with self-sacrifice and silent effort, must otherwise await a reward in another life. Yet so wonderful to me have been some of the revelations of the past few months, and so gracious has been the reception tendered the fleet in which I serve, that I venture to relate some of the great things that have been accomplished in the mere name of humanity and which was never intended nor expected to reach the thought of the world.

As chaplain of the United States flagship, *Lancaster*, stationed on the harbor of Key West, Florida, I visited the hospitals to which sick and wounded men were sent from both army and navy. At the beginning of hostilities the Convent of Mary Immaculate had been offered and accepted as a hospital and was known as the general hospital. The Sisters who gave the use of the Convent are known as the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary. Their work had been teaching, but when war was declared and they thought of the comfort of their convent, which fortunately is situated in the coolest place in that hot, dusty city, they decided to share their blessings with the sick and wounded men who could nowhere else secure them.

This decision was beautiful in its unselfishness, for not only did they who offered the use of their convent become faithful nurses, but they asked no remuneration at the hands of the

⁹George Barton, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXVII, 124.

Government either for the use of the convent or for the services of themselves as nurses, the only stipulation being that the convent should be returned to them at the end of the war in as good condition as when it had been accepted by the Government.

As most of the sailors were sent to this hospital, I visited it day after day, and though a Protestant minister, I could not have been more warmly welcomed had I been of their faith.

From inexperience they rapidly advanced until they were nurses to whom might safely be confided the care of even the most dangerous cases. And such nurses! They were veritable angels of mercy in their ministrations to men who were in every degree of sickness and who were suffering from every sort of wound.

And the men grew to love their smiling faces, and they wondered how human beings could tread so gently, and how human hands could so softly brush away the cares from their fevered brows. Then their hands were ever ready to write long letters to the homes that could not otherwise have heard from husbands, fathers and sons whose arms were weakened and whose nerves were unsettled. And though they never complained of weariness, sometimes their faces spoke of overwork in a slightly intensified pallor that came from long vigils of watching, that were frequently followed by additional hours of prayer. And they never were apparently dissatisfied, claiming that the pleasure of helping others for Christ's sake was in itself its own recompense.¹⁰

Apparently Dr. Helms was not satisfied with so general a tribute; he wished to bring his heartfelt thanks to the attention of the Sisters themselves. Hence he wrote them under date of November 5, 1898, from the Navy Yard in New York addressing them as his "Beloved Friends" and saying:

Under another cover I mail you the *Christian Advocate* of October 27, and you will find in it a marked article from my pen. I apologize for the article: for, though I did my best to express myself clearly, no one who reads it can possibly fathom or understand the real sentiment of holy affection and loftiest admiration which ever vernal memories of our blessed associations in recent months inspire and cherish.

We may never be privileged to meet again on earth, certainly the fond friendships that were formed midst the sufferings and sadnesses of a time of war, may never again be

¹⁰Archives of Mary Immaculate Convent, Key West, Florida.

enjoyed in exactly the same settings, nor do we wish them to be; but the glimpse I obtained of the rare excellence of your characters, the virtues that were ready at the call of opportunity to become beneficent inspiration and blessings to mankind; these are the revelations of Godliness in our modern world that are able to bridge even War's black chasm of horrors, and, as an arched bow of promise, reveal to struggling mortals, the Hand of God in the affairs of men—a vision most beautiful—a memory divine. . . .

I again ask that I may continually have the benefit of your prayers, assuring you that a sweet hope of one day grasping your hands in the eternal city of God, is one of the brightest anticipations of my future life.

Ever your faithful friend and brother,

W. R. HELMS,
*Chaplain of the U. S. Navy.*¹¹

From other army officials there were numerous tributes. "You have been our best disciplined soldiers," said Major Surgeon R. W. Hall, "Without you, I do not know how I could have maintained this hospital,"¹² while Second Lieutenant William E. Trull, Jr., of Company G, Seventy-first New York Volunteers wrote: "I am a Protestant, but I declare that these Catholic Sisters of the hospital at Key West are Angels from heaven. Their ministrations were given day and night indiscriminately."¹³

Finally the time came when the hospital was removed to New York City. August 22 was the date for the last departures. By this time more than six hundred sick and wounded had been cared for by the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary. When the hospitals were closed the Sisters returned to their normal activities and prepared to open their schools for the autumn session. Little by little the hospitals of Key West were forgotten in the more important events which were transpiring elsewhere in Army quarters, but the war was not forgotten among the Sisters in Florida. Several of them worn out by the work of the preceding spring and summer fell victims of malaria. Two of them died, martyrs to duty and their country.¹⁴

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Reverend Pierre Duchaussois, *Rose of Canada*, 299.

¹³The *Church News*, Washington, D. C., July 16, 1898.

¹⁴Duchaussois, *Rose of Canada*, 299.

Today (1940) there are five surviving members of the little band who worked so faithfully in one or the other of the Key West hospitals: Sister Anthony of Jesus and Sister M. Egidius, at present in Windsor, Ontario; Sister John Anthony, at present in Albany, New York; Sister M. Ambrose, at present in Africa; and Sister M. Louis Gabriel, who still resides in the Key West Convent.¹⁵

¹⁵Archives of Mary Immaculate Convent, Key West, Florida.

CHAPTER II

THE SISTERS OF CHARITY OF EMMITSBURG

A child destined to become one of the most extraordinary and saintly characters in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States was born in New York City on August 28, 1774.

Elizabeth Ann Bayley was the second daughter of Dr. Richard Bayley, an eminent New York physician, and Catherine Charlton, the daughter of a distinguished Episcopalian clergyman. Before Elizabeth was three years old, her mother died. The affectionate child, deprived of a mother's care, gave to her father a double share of filial love, while the virtues which she practiced so joyously toward her earthly father became the powerful lever of her spiritual life, when she turned her love and attention to God.¹

At the age of nineteen, Elizabeth was married to William Magee Seton, a prominent and prosperous merchant of New York City and, like herself, a member of the Episcopalian Church. The happiness of their married life was not to last, however, for early in the Spring of 1803, her husband's health rendered a sea voyage necessary. Elizabeth felt obliged to accompany her husband, although her going with him necessitated a separation from her children² four of whom she placed in the care of relatives, while her eldest daughter, Anna Maria, then in her ninth year of age, she decided to take along with her. The tedious voyage proved too much for the invalid, however, for he died in Pisa, December 27, 1803, leaving his widow and child with his friends, the Filicchi family of Leghorn. These noble Italians received Elizabeth and her child with every mark of sympathy and generosity. Here, it was, in this genuine Catholic household that Elizabeth for the first time in her life witnessed the actual workings of Catholicism.³ She accompanied the Filicchis on their visits to the churches, where she became deeply impressed with the excellence and beauty of the Church's religious ceremonial. She also became familiar with many Catholic prayers and practices, and soon began to pray that if she

¹Reverend Joseph B. Code, *Great American Foundresses*, 75.

²*Ibid.*, 80.

³*Ibid.*, 82.

were not in the right Church God would in his mercy lead her to it.

After her return to New York, she finally triumphed in the severe struggle through which she passed in search for the truth and consolations and embraced Catholicism. This was in 1805. Immediately she was abandoned by the wealthy and influential relatives of her husband. But in the Filicchis, Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore, the first Bishop of the United States, with whom she had been in correspondence, and a few other devoted friends, particularly Mr. and Mrs. James Barry, she found means to face the crisis which had come upon her.⁴

Finally she was invited to come to Baltimore by Father William Dubourg, President of St. Mary's College, in that city. He offered her a house near the school of which he was the head, wherein she might instruct young women in secular branches as well as in the knowledge and practice of their religion. Elizabeth left New York in June, 1808, and arrived in Baltimore on the feast of Corpus Christi. Immediately almost she began her great work of education. She also regulated her own actions as if she were a Religious, and in a short time was joined by three young women, who, attracted to her, offered their services gratuitously. In a short while, almost without her knowing it, she had founded a Religious Institute.⁵

The next year, Samuel Sutherland Cooper, a convert from Anglicanism and a student of St. Mary's Seminary, offered a sum of money to Father William Dubourg for the advancement of Catholicism, suggesting that the money might be used by Elizabeth for her work of education. After much discussion it was decided that the new Community should move to Emmitsburg, in the western part of Maryland, where Mount St. Mary's, a college for young men, had been founded.⁶ Hence on July 31, 1809, Mother Seton, as she was henceforth to be called, and her companions, took possession of a little log house on a farm, and thus began St. Joseph's, Emmitsburg.

Mother Seton, Bishop Carroll and Father Dubourg decided to model their foundation on the Institute of the Sisters of Charity,

⁴Madame De Barberey and Joseph B. Code, *Elizabeth Seton* (New York, 1931), 172.

⁵Reverend Joseph B. Code, *Great American Foundresses*, 90.

⁶*Ibid.*, 91.

founded in France in the sixteenth century by Saint Vincent de Paul, the great apostle of charity. Saint Vincent already had made it possible for women to lead a religious life in the world, having for their cloisters hospitals, prisons, asylums and the hovels of the poor,⁷ all of which appealed to Mother Seton and her two advisers. Hence it was decided that the new Institute should be a Sisterhood of charity.

The habit adopted at that time was not unlike that worn by some Religious Mother Seton had seen in Italy. The dress of black had a short cape and the headdress consisted of a white muslin cap with a crimped border.⁸ The white cap was later changed to black, although Mother Seton always wore the white one.⁹ In 1852, Saint Vincent's own habit, the white and blue, was adopted by the daughters of Mother Seton at Emmitsburg.¹⁰

When Mother Seton died in 1821 she saw her Community solidly established and giving promise of much usefulness to the Church in America. Not long after her death the Sisters added to their work in the schoolroom and the orphanage that of the hospital. They distinguished themselves particularly in the several epidemics which decimated the country in the first part of the nineteenth century and during the Civil War became known throughout the land for their heroic work on the battlefield.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Spanish American War broke out the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg were found ready with their services. Although during the progress of the war no member of the Sisterhood saw service at the front, conditions had arisen which placed it in a position to render invaluable service in the camps which were established in various parts of the country. Because of their gentle ministrations the Sisters of Charity won for themselves the title, "Angels of the Fever Camp."¹¹

When the war broke out Mother Mariana was Mother Seton's ninth successor at Emmitsburg. Immediately she offered the

⁷*Ibid.*, 99.

⁸Sister Mary Agnes McCann, *Mother Seton* (Mount St. Joseph on the Ohio, 1909), 39.

⁹Reverend Joseph B. Code, *Great American Foundresses*, 93.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 101.

¹¹George Barton, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* (June 1926), XXXVII, 163.

Sisters as nurses to the Surgeon General of the Army, George M. Sternberg, and the offer was accepted. But before any requisition was made upon the Sisterhood, a request came from the physicians who were in charge of the Marine Hospital at Portsmouth, Virginia, for five Sisters to serve as night nurses. Sisters Magdalen Kelleher, Cecelia Beck, Chrysostom Moynahan, Victorine Salazer and Mary Larkin were sent at once from the Mother House. As they were put on night duty they made St. Joseph's School at Portsmouth, also conducted by the Sisters of Charity, their headquarters, acting under Sister Agnes Lally, the Superior of St. Joseph's. Three were placed in charge of the wounded Americans and two in charge of the sick and wounded Spanish prisoners. As Sister Victorine Salazer spoke Spanish fluently, one may well imagine the satisfaction felt by the soldiers who found a Sister able to act as an interpreter. This was especially consoling when through her they were able to go to Confession. Many a soldier received the Sacraments, and in some instances prepared for eternity, through this Sister from Emmitsburg.¹²

On the evening of August 31, 1898, when the Sisters came on duty, they found the Spaniards evidencing much joy as they had been informed that they were no longer prisoners. Admiral Pascual Cervera had just come to make preparations for their removal within a few days. Nevertheless, it was a heavy burden on the Sisters who had to make arrangements for the transfer of many whose maimed bodies rendered them helpless.¹³ Three o'clock was the hour appointed to begin moving the worst cases and at six all were to be on board and bound for New York, where the Spanish soldiers from different points were to congregate preparatory to their departure from this country.

The work of the Sisters in Portsmouth was now finished and before leaving they called on the Medical Director of the United States Navy. Dr. Cleborne, profuse in his thanks, commented on their faithful service which extended from July 17, to September 7, 1898, at the Naval Hospital.

A few days later W. K. Van Reypen, Surgeon General of the United States Navy, sent the following letter to the Sisters.

¹²Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

¹³Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

Dated September 12, 1898, it reads in part: "The Bureau appreciates and thanks you for your voluntary services, inspired by the devotion of your Order, which looks not for earthly praise, but has its reward in alleviating suffering, and leading mankind to a better and higher life."¹⁴

The next call to come to the Mother House at Emmitsburg was that of August 14 for ten Sisters to go to the Army Hospital at Fort Thomas, Kentucky. Here, under the direction of Major William R. Hall, the Sisters began to nurse two thousand five hundred fever patients. Sister Lucia James, Superior of the Hotel Dieu Hospital, in New Orleans, an institution for years under the direction of the Sisters of Charity, was sent in charge at the Kentucky hospital. The work was strenuous and did not abate until late in January 1899, when the hospital was closed and the Sisters departed.

On January 29, 1899, Major and Surgeon W. R. Hall, who was the Commanding General of the Hospital at Fort Thomas, Kentucky, wrote to Sister Lucia James:

Before we part I wish to say to you that I appreciate most heartily the great help that you have been to me this summer. You and the other Sisters have been constant in your duties to the sick, you have willingly done all that was required by myself or the doctors in charge of wards.

The presence in the hospital of women so devoted, so cheerful, so kind and religious has had a wonderful influence on both the patients and the male attendants. My work has been made much easier by the knowledge that the Sisters would never, under any occasion, neglect anyone, and that peace and good will would always reign wherever they were.

I wish that you would express to your Mother Superior how much I feel indebted to your Order. It is with heartfelt sorrow that I part with the Sisters, and my prayer follows you all.¹⁵

Surgeon General George M. Sternberg next sent a call to Emmitsburg for five immune nurses. He asked that they leave for Santiago, Cuba, on the *Yale* which was then in the New York harbor, to care for the American soldiers who had contracted

¹⁴Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

¹⁵Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

yellow fever. Mother Mariana immediately complied with the request and appointed Sister Mary Carroll, a former Superior of the Hotel Dieu in New Orleans, to act as Superior of the contingent. Upon their departure from Emmitsburg, Mother Mariana accompanied the Sisters as far as Washington. While at Providence Hospital, in that city, Mother Mariana received word that President McKinley, who had been apprised of her presence in Washington, wished to see her. When she arrived at the White House the President cordially expressed his appreciation of what the Emmitsburg Sisters were doing, recalled the services they rendered during the Civil War and gladly welcomed them back to the Army.¹⁶ The Sisters intended for Cuba continued on to New York but owing to a misunderstanding between the Army and Naval authorities they were not permitted to board the *Yale* immediately. The officer in charge had not received instructions from Washington as to their coming, and hence refused permission for them and a group of male immune nurses to board the vessel. The Sisters went to St. Vincent's Hospital, in New York City, conducted by the Sisters of Charity of Mount St. Vincent, to await further orders. The misunderstanding was soon cleared up, however, as authorities in Washington had neglected to notify the officers of the *Yale* of the arrival of the nurses. Ample apologies were offered, both bands of nurses were received on board and on August 11, 1898, all sailed from New York City.¹⁷

Meanwhile, another group of Emmitsburg Sisters of Charity was called to give service at Santiago. Seven Sisters, all immune, were chosen from the various houses of the Sisters in New Orleans to join the Sisters who had left New York on August 11. All volunteers for the work, they were: Sisters Catherine, Aloysia and Augustine from the Charity Hospital; Sisters Eulalia and Marcella from St. Vincent's Infant Asylum; and Sisters Fortunata and Appolonia from St. Simeon's Academy. At the request of Mother Mariana, Sisters Agnes and Mary Helen, also from New Orleans, accompanied the group to Tampa, Florida, the point from which they were to set sail for Santiago. Upon their arrival at Tampa the Sister nurses reported to Chief Surgeon O'Reilly and

¹⁶Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

the next morning, August 12, set sail for Santiago. Sisters Agnes and Mary Helen seeing them safely embarked returned to New Orleans.¹⁸

On August 15, the steamer came in sight of Cuba and the next day the anchor was dropped at Santiago. In a short time they joined their Sister Religious who had arrived from New York a few days previous. Both groups then proceeded to the convent of the Spanish Sisters of Charity in Santiago where they remained for further orders. Toward evening of the same day General Leonard Wood, who had been appointed Military Governor of Santiago, informed the Sisters that there were no cases of yellow fever in Santiago, but there were many sick at Siboney, five miles distant, and that since sixteen hundred men were leaving for New York the day following and thirteen hundred of them were sick and needed attention it would be advisable and desirable if the Sisters would take charge of the sick soldiers on their way to New York hospitals. The Sisters, ready for any service, returned to the transports early the next morning and immediately began to minister to the sick who were being transferred from Siboney. Day and night the Sisters were kept busy until they landed with the troops at Montauk Point, New York, where the soldiers were placed in the various hospitals of Camp Wikoff. At the same time the Sisters joined the other members of their Institute who were on duty in the Annex Hospital of Camp Wikoff.¹⁹

When the first General Hospital at Camp Wikoff was established during the early part of the war, the Government employed nurses who were supplied by the Red Cross. But the demand for competent nurses was greater than the Red Cross could supply, and hence the President was obliged to look elsewhere for nurses. A request was dispatched at once to the Mother House at Emmitsburg for as many Sisters as could be spared immediately for the new emergency. Mother Mariana called in Sisters from Milwaukee, Chicago, Washington, Baltimore, Mt. Hope, Maryland, and from the Naval Hospital at Norfolk, Virginia, every Sister selected having had some experience in hospital service. Seven

¹⁸The *Church News*, Washington, D. C., August 13, 1898.

¹⁹Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

of the number were immune and had been appointed to serve the yellow fever patients.²⁰

Arrived at Camp Wikoff, they were assigned to duty in the Annex Hospital, as the name implies an addition to the general hospital. This annex gradually increased, however, until it was much larger than the central hospital. Meanwhile, the demand for additional nurses continued, until finally more than one hundred Emmitsburg Sisters were nursing at Camp Wikoff. Not only were they in charge of the Annex hospital but also of Wards A and B of the General Hospital. They were also selected to attend the doctors in the operating tent. In fact, Dr. Nicholas Senn,²¹ the well known surgical specialist of Chicago, made special requests to have the Emmitsburg Sisters attend his patients. When the famous army surgeon arrived at Camp Wikoff he was delighted to find Sister Mary Paul, an Emmitsburg Sister from St. Joseph's Hospital, Chicago, among the nurses. The meeting was extremely cordial since Sister Mary Paul for years had been Dr. Senn's assistant in operations performed in Chicago.²²

Toward the middle of September, 1898, in a letter to the *Lancet Clinic*, a weekly journal of medicine and surgery, Dr. S. P. Kramer of Cincinnati, Major and Brigade Surgeon of the United States Volunteers, and executive officer of the Annex hospital, Camp Wikoff, in discussing the relative efficiency of graduated trained nurses and the Sisters of Charity, said:

My experience here has convinced me of some things with regard to nurses. The general hospital here is divided into equal divisions, the main hospital and the Annex. The former has trained nurses, lay women, under a female superintendent; the latter has Sisters of Charity under a Sister Superior. Whatever may be the case in civil institutions, in the field hospital the Sister of Charity is far superior.

²⁰Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

²¹Dr. Nicholas Senn (1844-1908), at the outbreak of the Spanish American War, was appointed surgeon of the Sixth Army Corps and chief of the operating staff in the field. In military surgery he was quite successful, doing much to improve first aid on the battlefield and contributing on the treatment of gunshot wounds. In 1892 Dr. Senn was president of the American Surgical Association, and of the American Medical Association in 1897. Cf. *New International Encyclopedia* (New York, 1922), XX, 704.

²²George Barton, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXVII, 164.

The Sisters do good work. There is none of the bickering with the ward doctor, no fussiness, no refusing to perform menial work when necessary, no desire to 'shine' as is the case with the 'trained nurse.' The Sister of Charity has no ambition but duty; she obeys all orders quietly, with a prompt, orderly and willing manner. No sacrifice is too great, no service too menial. It has been a matter of general comment here that the Annex is a far superior hospital to the main branch, and to my mind that is largely due to the presence of the Sisters of Charity in the former.²³

Reverend John F. Cummins, pastor of the Church of the Sacred Heart, Roslindale, New York, in a lecture on "Camp Life at Montauk" in St. Philip's Church, Harrison Avenue, Boston, on the evening of October 30, 1898, said in part:

The scenes which I am about to describe are the saddest recollection of a lifetime, and as I recall the awful suffering and read over the roll of the two thousand deaths, I cannot forbear to give expression of the gratitude I feel at my own deliverance.

Father Cummins then described the Camp at Montauk Point:

In that city of tents, twenty-five thousand men were encamped, and of this number ten thousand were brought there sick with fever. At the gate of that city sat the fever spectre taking toll, and that toll was nothing less than the lives of our gallant boys in blue.

There was no gayety at Montauk; no music in the company street, no favors, no banquets, no cheering, no rejoicing. The soldiers knew of the deadly disease which surrounded them and they had no spirit for joyful display. There were seven hospitals, four of which were division hospitals, one general, one detention and one quarantine. Each tent accommodated forty-eight patients, and two nurses were assigned to each tent. The work which they performed is indescribable.

The Sisters of Charity were the first women I met in the camp. I have read review after review of Montauk, but not a syllable of praise has been given these noble women for their work. I know full well that the Red Cross nurses exerted themselves in behalf of the sufferers, and I also saw the splendid labors of the Volunteer Aid Association of Massachusetts, and I have no word strong enough to sound their praise. . . .

²³Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

But there was a band of heroic women who plunged into the deepest part of the fever-stricken camps to aid the sick and restore the youthful soldiers to their sorrow-stricken mothers. These patient women never received a word of praise or commendation for their services at Montauk. I refer to the white-bonneted Sisters of Charity.

They went at the call of the President who asked for two hundred and two hundred responded. Within two weeks four have died, and at present ten are suffering from typhoid fever. Is not that record worthy of recognition? Some of these have done service in the Civil War. . . .²⁴

The work of the Sisters continued at Camp Wikoff until late in September of 1898. As soon as the number of patients diminished the Sisters went on to other camps or hospitals, wherever they were most needed.

Another camp where the Sisters did effective work was at Camp Thomas, Chickamauga Park, Georgia, probably the largest military camp established anywhere in the country during hostilities.²⁵ Hundreds of typhoid fever patients had filled the hospitals of the camp to capacity when twenty Sisters of Charity arrived at Chickamauga to minister to the sick and wounded. Sister Stella Boyle, from St. Vincent's Infirmary, Indianapolis, Indiana, was placed in charge at Sternberg Hospital, one of the hospitals of the camp, but twenty Sisters were not enough and in a short time the number was increased to sixty.

The co-operation of the Sisters of Mercy at the Sanger-Hoff and Leiter Hospitals and the Red Cross nurses giving aid in all three hospitals established at Camp Thomas soon brought about better conditions. It was not long until the greater number of patients had recovered enough to be sent to convalescent homes or camps elsewhere. A few of the Sisters of Charity remained to care for the sixty patients who were too ill to be moved, while the other Sisters were distributed in the various hospitals at Camp Alger, near Falls Church, Virginia, Camp Meade, near Middletown, Pennsylvania, and at Camp Wheeler, Huntsville, Alabama.

Two days after the call for nurses at Chickamauga Park, twenty Sisters of Charity were asked to go to Camp Alger where were

²⁴Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

²⁵George Barton, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXVII, 151.

encamped more than one thousand sick soldiers.²⁶ Typhoid was the most prevalent disease, and death was claiming a large number. The Sisters performed splendid service for many weary weeks, reinforcements coming from time to time to relieve the strain upon them. When Camp Alger was abandoned some of the Sisters went to Camp Wikoff, Montauk Point, while others were assigned to Camp Meade, another of the places where the Sisters of Emmitsburg did heroic work among the sick and wounded.²⁷

From Camp Meade the Sisters later were hurried to Camp Wheeler, where their services were urgently called for. The sick who had lately arrived on the Steamer *Missouri* presented the most serious cases. Since more nurses were needed in Huntsville the Sisters at the Annex Hospital at Montauk Point left in groups of twelve as soon as the lessening numbers in their wards would permit them. It was only the untiring energy of the Sisters that saved the lives of these stricken men at Huntsville.²⁸ On September 15, fifty Sisters of Charity arrived for service at Camp Hamilton, near Lexington, Kentucky, where more than six hundred sick were encamped and waiting the attention of the Sisters.²⁹ It may be seen from the foregoing that the Sisters were moved from camp to camp remaining longest where their services were most needed, constantly at the call of the Government authorities.

Then came the call for Sisters to go to Puerto Rico. Mother Mariana finally decided to place this contingent under Sister Fortunata Gomez of St. Simeon's Academy, New Orleans. Sister Fortunata spoke Spanish and French equally as well as English and also had a superior hospital training. Upon their arrival in Ponce, the Sisters began nursing at once the physical wrecks who filled the hospital.³⁰ One hundred and thirty-seven soldiers were killed in the campaign at Ponce, Puerto Rico, on July 20, but a far larger number fell victims to fevers and other diseases.³¹ These

²⁶*Ibid.*, 163.

²⁷George Barton, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXVII, 163.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 166.

²⁹Sister M. Eleanore, *On the King's Highway* (New York, 1931), 329.

³⁰Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

³¹George Barton, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXVII, 148.

were the men whom the Sisters nursed back to life; once they were safely on the road to recovery the Sisters returned to the mainland.

Meanwhile, one of their own number, Sister Mary Larkin, made the supreme sacrifice. Assigned to the fever ward of the hospital at Ponce, she worked tirelessly for six weeks. Then the symptoms of typhoid appeared, and within a few days she was dying. No mention of her death appears in the official Government reports, but she was truly a heroine, and gave her life to her country as well as to God in the service of the former.³²

In fact the devotion and fidelity of the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg won the undying gratitude of countless numbers. Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, was aware of this wider service which they were doing to religion and wrote them from Baltimore:

My dear Mother:

I rejoice to learn that one hundred and sixty-seven Sisters of Charity are now engaged in the good work of tending the soldiers in the hospitals. The sacrifices of the Sisters are very great, but great in proportion will be their merit.³³

✠JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS.

This same feeling of gratitude was expressed by officials of the Government, one of whom, Surgeon General Sternberg, wrote as follows from the War Department on March 14, 1899:

Dear Madam:

I send you this communication as a testimonial to the faithful, intelligent and efficient work done by the Sisters of the Catholic Church in our army hospitals during the recent Spanish American War. I have already said in my Annual Report: Many of the trained nurses were Sisters of Charity, whose services were highly appreciated by medical officers in charge, as well as by the individual sick men who benefited by their ministrations. In view, however, of the loyal services of the Sisters of your Order, I consider it but just that this letter of appreciation and commendation be sent to you. . . .

With sentiments of the greatest respect, I remain, dear madam,³⁴

GEORGE M. STERNBERG.

³²*Ibid.*, 149.

³³Archives of the Sisters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

³⁴Alice Worthington Winthrop, "The Work of the Sisters in the War with Spain," *Ave Maria*, XLIX, 427.

CHAPTER III

THE SISTERS OF MERCY

THE year 1827 marked the foundation of the Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy by Catherine Elizabeth McAuley in Dublin, Ireland. In her youth Catherine resolved to devote her life to the service of the poor and when in 1822, she came into possession of her inheritance she determined to found an institution in which women, when out of work, might find a temporary home. When on the feast of Our Lady of Mercy, September 24, 1827, the new institution was opened, it began to serve not only destitute women, but also some orphans as well. There was no idea of founding a Religious Institute, but as time went on the interior life of Catherine McAuley and her associates became more like the life of a Religious than the secular life.

The Institute progressed so rapidly that on the feast of Our Lady of Mercy, 1828, Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin permitted the staff to assume a distinctive and uniform dress and to adopt the title of Sisters of Mercy.¹ The Rule of the Sisters of the Presentation, modified to suit the duties of the new Institute was chosen by the foundress and approved by the Holy See. On January 23, 1832, Francis Warde, with six other postulants, presented themselves for the religious habit. The name of Mary Francis Xavier was given her at this ceremony. She it was who was destined to become the foundress of the Sisters of Mercy in America.

Father Michael O'Connor, pastor of St. Paul's Church, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was named first Bishop of Pittsburgh and consecrated in Rome, August 15, 1843.² From Rome he proceeded to the Sisters of Mercy at Carlow, Ireland, to urge the great need of religious teachers in his diocese in America. After much prayer and deliberation it was decided that seven sisters should be sent to Pittsburgh, with Mother Mary Francis Warde in charge of the foundation. Those accompanying Mother Francis were

¹Reverend Joseph B. Code, *Great American Foundresses* (New York, 1929), 361.

²Reverend Joseph B. Code, *Great American Foundresses*, 365.

Sisters Margaret O'Brien, Mary Veronica Darby, Mary Philomene Reid, Mary Aloysius Strange, Mary Josephine Cullen and Mary Elizabeth Strange.³

On November 10, 1843, the *Queen of the West* carried this little band of missionaries to the shores of America, where they landed on December 11. Here they were met by Bishop O'Connor and other prominent persons. Bishop John Hughes of New York greeted the Sisters most cordially and asked hospitality for them of the Religious of the Sacred Heart until they left for Pittsburgh. Three days later they went by rail to Philadelphia where they remained four days with the Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg. On December 21, 1843, the Sisters reached Pittsburgh, and remained at the Orphanage conducted by the Charity Sisters until the following day when they went to their convent home on Penn Street.⁴ In time they have spread to various parts of the country.

When the Spanish American War was in progress there was no hesitancy on the part of the Sisters to offer their services as nurses. Sister Mary Imelda, the Superior of Mercy Hospital at Baltimore, Maryland, immediately upon the declaration of war sent a letter to Surgeon General George M. Sternberg, tendering to the United States Government the use of Mercy Hospital for the care of the soldiers of the Fifth Maryland Regiment and offering the services of the Sisters should they be needed. The call for nurses did not come until July, 1898, when application blanks were presented by Miss Ella Loraine Dorsey to be filled out by volunteers. Many Sisters responded but only the requisite quota was sent, and they were principally typhoid fever expert nurses.

The volunteer group consisted of Sisters Nolasco McColm, Mary Ignatius Smith, Borgia Leonard, Bonaventure Middleton, Alexius Klinefelter, Mercedes Weld, Ursula Mullen and Elizabeth Flannagan. At Washington, D. C., they were joined by Sister Bernadine Stone and Sister Mary Bernard Kane, the latter having been appointed superior of the group.⁵ In the beginning the Sisters were excluded from the camps, but the affairs which were badly managed

³Sister Eulalia Herron, *Sisters of Mercy in the United States, 1843-1928*, (New York, 1929), 1.

⁴Reverend Joseph B. Code, *Great American Foundresses*, 367.

⁵Sister M. Loretto Costello, *The Sisters of Mercy of Maryland, 1855-1930* (St. Louis, Missouri), 144.

at first gradually grew worse until the authorities in sheer desperation called upon the Sisters to rescue them from what had become a pitiable plight.⁶

On August 20, 1898, a telegram was received requiring the Sisters to proceed at once to the Sanger-Hoff Hospital at Chickamauga Park, Georgia, where twenty thousand soldiers of various regiments were encamped and where typhoid fever prevailed. Upon their arrival at Chickamauga Park, the chief surgeon decided that the services of the Sisters of Mercy should be devoted to the Third Division Hospital. Here were lodged between four and five hundred soldiers. The sanitary conditions were appalling. Supplies were in abundance but no order or system prevailed in their distribution. Some of the tents were without flooring, and all the cots were so low that it was impossible to keep the bed linens out of the dust which became mud on rainy days.

The Sisters, understanding the situation, determined to make cleanliness their first objective and at once they began to administer cleansing baths, to change bed linens, and to sterilize drinking cups and other utensils which had been used repeatedly without washing.⁷ Certain hardships and privations were inseparable from the location of the camp. The water was bad, the wards were crowded, and swarms of flies added to the discomfort of the sick and annoyance of the Sisters. Everything that contributed to the comfort of the patients was done for them. Cheerful and beneficial conditions were established, and decided recoveries soon became evident.

Dr. F. B. Stapp, secretary of the Chattanooga Medical Society, visited the Leiter Hospital at Chickamauga Park and reported that sanitary and food conditions were good, that there were one hundred and fifty patients and sixty nurses and that ninety per cent of the patients were typhoid cases, all in a very critical condition.⁸ The mortality was greater than elsewhere due to the bad condition of the men when brought to this hospital. But after a month of careful nursing many of the soldiers were able to travel

⁶George Barton, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXVII, 1926, 151.

⁷Costello, *The Sisters of Mercy of Maryland 1855-1930*, 146.

⁸George Barton, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXVII, 151.

to their homes, and others were transferred to various hospital camps for convalescence. Of the five hundred who were at the Park scarcely sixty sick men remained after four weeks of nursing.⁹

Fifty-five Emmitsburg Sisters of Charity joined the Sisters of Mercy here and remained until the close of the hospital camp late in September. Finally all were transferred to other camps where their services were more needed.¹⁰

About noon of September 16, 1898, the Baltimore Sisters of Mercy engaged at the Sanger-Hoff Hospital, Chickamauga Park, received a telegram to report the next day at Knoxville, Tennessee. Toward evening of the same day two ambulances conveyed them to Chattanooga where they spent the night. At eight the next morning they left Chattanooga for Knoxville. Before the Sisters had reached the platform an officer approached to greet them while several soldiers took care of the baggage. After a two mile ride they reached Turner Park, a city park which the Government had rented for the Second Division Hospital, First Army Corps of Camp Poland.

Major Hysall, the surgeon in charge, welcomed the Sisters cordially and conducted them to their quarters in a small house at the foot of the hill. Two rooms were given for their use and after arranging thirteen hospital cots in these close quarters the Sisters reported for duty.¹¹ Ward A was assigned to the Sisters. This consisted of a pavilion of about sixty feet square, which sheltered eighty-four patients in six rows of cots. The soldiers were very ill, and apparently even more neglected than those at Chickamauga Park. Besides the pavilion, there were six rows of tents, called Wards B, C, D, E, F, G, isolated tents for contagious diseases, an operating tent, a bath house, and a diet kitchen, while under the pavilion were the pharmacy and quartermaster's stores.

The Secretary of War, Russel A. Alger and Surgeon General Sternberg paid a visit of inspection and expressed delight at the improved condition of the patients. They assured the Sisters that

⁹Archives of the Sisters of Mercy, Mount Saint Agnes, Baltimore, Maryland.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Archives of the Sisters of Mercy, Mount Saint Agnes, Baltimore, Maryland.

whatever they needed in the discharge of their duty would be readily given.¹²

Shortly after the arrival of the Sisters at Knoxville another and greater sacrifice was asked of them. Sister Mary Elizabeth Flannagan, the youngest member of the group, was stricken with typhoid fever and died on the feast of All Saints. On November 2, 1898, her remains were sent for burial to her convent home in Baltimore.¹³

On Thanksgiving Day the Sisters were obliged to prepare for another departure. This time they were assigned to Camp Conrad, about two miles from Columbus, Georgia. The hospital was situated some distance from the camp and contained six wards. Rheumatism, pneumonia and malaria were prevalent. After a few days nine Sisters of the Holy Cross and fourteen Red Cross nurses arrived from Camp Hamilton, and with this additional assistance no one was overburdened. The Sisters and nurses were held in reserve for future need should their services be required in Cuba.¹⁴

On December 12, 1898, the preparations for the departure of the Sisters from the field hospitals of the South were completed. Although the Sisters had experienced many hardships, they likewise experienced many consolations. There were remarkable cures, numerous conversions, and the satisfaction of having relieved suffering and prepared men for eternity.¹⁵

The services of the Sisters of Mercy received official recognition when the Government of the United States, by Act of Congress, June 5, 1920, passed the Pension Act for Spanish American War soldiers. The benefits of that Act were extended to include nurses, the following Sisters of Mercy then living being granted pensions: Sisters Mary Nolasco McColm, Ignatius Smith, Alexius Klinefelter, Celestine Doyle, Ursula Mullen, Bernard O'Kane, Bernadine Stone and Mercedes Weld.¹⁶

In January, 1921 the same Sisters were awarded service medals

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴Archives of the Sisters of Mercy, Mount Saint Agnes, Baltimore, Maryland.

¹⁵Sister M. Loretto Costello, *The Sisters of Mercy of Maryland, 1855-1930*, 151.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 151.

by the War Department. Nor were the dead forgotten for with impressive ceremonies the graves of the five departed Sisters received markers as testimonies of the patriotism and valor of Sisters Mary Elizabeth Flannagan, Loyola Fenwick, De Sales Prendergast, Bonaventure Middleton and Borgia Leonard.¹⁷

While in the East the Sisters of Mercy were nursing in the camp hospitals, the Sisters of Mercy at Burlingame, California, were called to serve the sick and wounded at the Presidio Hospital, in San Francisco. On September 10, 1898, Major W. S. H. Matthews, Commanding Surgeon at the Presidio, wrote to Mother Mary Columba asking for the services of as many Sisters as possible. Mother Columba responded by offering four Sisters, all that could be spared at that moment. Sisters Mary Pius, Mary Dolores, Mary Clement and Mary Louis, volunteers, entered upon their duties Sunday, September 15, 1898, two serving throughout the day, the other two the entire night, until December 3, when all except three of the soldiers were dismissed from the hospital.

On the day of the Sisters' departure, Dr. R. G. Ebert, Surgeon of the United States Army Commanding Hospital, addressed a letter of thanks and appreciation to Mother Columba for the work performed by the Sisters in the care for the men belonging to the Philippine Expedition.

Major W. S. H. Matthews enthusiastically and cordially endorsed all that Dr. R. G. Ebert had written and added that the patients had been greatly benefited by their services.¹⁸

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 152.

¹⁸Archives of the Sisters of Mercy, Burlingame, California.

CHAPTER IV

THE SISTERS OF THE HOLY CROSS

THE Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross is one of the many American Institutes of women which had their origin in France. Several pious young women, desirous of devoting themselves to religion, were drawn nearer to their goal by offering to serve the priests and Brothers of the Holy Cross, an organization which was established by the Very Reverend Basil Moreau, Canon of the Cathedral and professor of Divinity in the Seminary of Le Mans. Their offer of service in domestic lines was accepted and with it came to Abbé Moreau the inspiration to establish a Sisterhood.¹

On April 25, 1841, the first Sisters began their novitiate under the Care of Mother Mary Dositheus in the convent of the Good Shepherd at Le Mans, since Father Moreau was not able immediately to provide a novitiate for these aspirants. Daily at stated hours Mother Dositheus assembled the four Sisters in her room to teach them the principles of the religious life, to scold or praise as merit demanded, to lay deep the foundation stone of humility on which they were to rear the structure of their spiritual life.² At the end of a year these young aspirants were admitted to the religious profession under the title of the Sisters of the Holy Cross.³ The zeal of Father Moreau left no means untried to perfect a foundation which he hoped, in the designs of Providence, would become a decided factor in the Christian education of youth.

In 1841 the Right Reverend Celestine de la Hailandière, the successor to Bishop Simon Gabriel Bruté in the see of Vincennes, made application to Father Moreau for volunteers for the missions of Indiana. That same year the Reverend Edward Sorin, then a young priest, and six Brothers of the Holy Cross left the Mother House of Le Mans, arriving in Vincennes on the second Sunday of October. A tract of land was offered by the Bishop, which

¹Annals of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, *A Story of Fifty Years, 1855-1905* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1905), 8.

²Sister M. Eleanore, *On the King's Highway* (New York, 1931), 25.

³Annals of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, *A Story of Fifty Years, 1855-1905* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1905), 9.

Father Sorin accepted and dedicated it to Our Lady of the Lake, the Notre Dame of today.⁴

Father Sorin was not long in America until he felt the need of Sisters for his missions, consequently he wrote to Father Moreau asking his aid. On June 6, 1843, four Sisters of the Holy Cross left France for the United States: Sisters Mary of the Sacred Heart, Mary of Calvary, Mary of Bethlehem and Mary of Nazareth.⁵ Unfortunately, however, the Bishop refused to allow a foundation in his diocese, as he had already invited the Sisters of Providence to come from France and feared two educational institutions could not be supported in so poor a state.⁶ The village of Bertrand, a few miles from Notre Dame, was one of the missions in care of the Fathers of the Holy Cross, and here Father Sorin saw a possible location for the new Community of Sisters. He approached Bishop Peter Lefevre of Detroit, asking the privilege of establishing the Sisters at Bertrand in his diocese. The necessary permission was granted at once and on July 16, 1844, Sister Mary of the Sacred Heart and four postulants took up their abode in a dwelling secured from a Mr. Bertrand, after whom the village was named.⁷ The work of the Sisters during the first year included teaching of a few children of the neighborhood, the care of several orphans and the laundry work of the students of Notre Dame.⁸

About 1854, all objections to the Sisters being established in Indiana were withdrawn, the novitiate was moved from Bertrand to Notre Dame where the Sisters took possession of a new house and the privacy of Community life could be enjoyed by all.⁹ In 1857 Father Moreau came from France to make his first visit to the American mission, at which time the American Sisters of the Holy Cross decided to separate from the Mother House in France. The division was not made, however, until 1862. Papal recognition was received in 1869, proclaiming the Sisters of the Holy Cross a distinct Congregation, with St. Mary's as the Mother House and

⁴*Ibid.*, 17.

⁵*Ibid.*, 20.

⁶Sister M. Eleanore, *On the King's Highway*, 128.

⁷Sister M. Eleanore, *On the King's Highway*, 130.

⁸Annals of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, *A Story of Fifty Years, 1855-1905*, 29.

⁹*Ibid.*, 46.

the site of the general novitiate.¹⁰ At this time there were twenty-two successful establishments outside of St. Mary's and about two hundred and fifty Sisters in the Province of the United States.

Then begun a period of marked progress which was continuing when the War with Spain broke out. Again the old spirit of devotedness to country manifested itself anew, not only in the veterans nurses of the Civil War, but also in the younger members who showed a willingness to serve in whatever capacity they were needed.¹¹ The opportunity presented itself when Miss Ella Loraine Dorsey wrote to Mother M. Annunciata:

Remembering the noble record made by Mother M. Angelia Gillespie and the Sisters of your Order in the Civil War, I feel sure that as the illness spreads and the sick and wounded return from the fatal shores of Cuba, they will again wish to serve God and their Government.

I therefore enclose the qualification slips prepared by the Surgeon General as embodying the requisites of service, adding only that hospital experience is accepted as a fair equivalent of graduation.

The conditions of service are that these slips be filed through the Hospital Corps of the Daughters of the Revolution (which the Surgeon General has made his "Civil Service Board for Women Nurses") that the Sisters take the oath of allegiance to the United States, sign contracts, and accept \$30 a month pay.

I know this last will distress your hearts, which would fain serve God in His sick and wounded for charity's sake, but the Surgeon General is inflexible, and perhaps it is as well, because the official status is established in the War Department records forever.

Let me hear soon, with a list of the Sisters (by their family name as well as by the name of their Vows), their specialties—as surgery, fevers, etc. and the number you can furnish. I send twenty slips.

As a Catholic I have of course secured all conditions—a ward or a hospital to yourselves, chaplains service, etc.¹²

Mother M. Annunciata immediately responded and consented to send the Sisters although they had been widely dispersed a few days earlier for the year's work on the missions. On August 30,

¹⁰Sister M. Eleanore, *On the King's Highway*, 276.

¹¹*A Story of Fifty Years*, 194.

¹²Archives of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Mother Annunciata offered the free use of the Holy Cross hospitals in the States of Indiana, Ohio and Illinois, with the service of the Sisters stationed there, to the Governors of those States. The authorities promptly acknowledged the receipt of the letter and expressed themselves grateful. They declared that they would avail themselves of the offer should occasion demand it.

Meanwhile a sufficient number of Sisters were called to the Mother House, and on September 7, the first detachment, consisting of Sister Mary Lydia Clifford, as directress, and Sister Mary Emerentiana Nowlan, as general assistant, as well as Sisters Mary Florentia Stack, Valentina Reid, Galasia Baden and Joachim Casey arrived at Camp Hamilton, Lexington, Kentucky.¹³ Since no preparation had been made for their coming, they waited for further instructions. About four o'clock of the same day a mounted orderly came with a note telling Sister Lydia to report at once to Major Richard Griffith. After some negotiations two tents were assigned the Sisters with three cots in each. Later in the day they were placed in charge of the typhoid ward, containing more than fifty patients, most of whom were very ill. Since Major Griffith wished the Sisters to begin night duty, Sisters Galasia and Valentina remained that night.

The following day the Sisters discovered that there were over six hundred sick, who were in tents all around them. The Sisters went to the wards at six-thirty and remained until ten at night, barely taking time for meals. On September 10, Sisters Mary Philip Horan, Camillus McSweeney, Genevieve Conway, Benita O'Connor, Cornelius McCabe and Cordelia Gahagan, all of whom had been recalled from Utah, arrived at Camp Hamilton. As no tents had been provided for them, they returned to Lexington to seek hospitality from the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. This they were given by the Religious at St. Catherine's Academy where they remained until the following Monday. Meanwhile two new tents were erected and the six Sisters returned to the camp. At the request of Dr. Glover of the Ninth Pennsylvania, Sisters Mary Philip, Camillus, Benita and Cordelia were sent to the malaria ward.¹⁴

¹³*A Story of Fifty Years*, 195.

¹⁴Sister M. Eleanore, *On the King's Highway*, 327.

To Camp Hamilton came the report that fifty Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg were coming on September 15. A canvas roof was placed on one end of the pavilion for shelter and all the Sisters were moved from the tents to the pavilion or "Sisters' Barracks," as it was called by the soldiers. The arrangement was delightful, curtains were hung and a little chapel was prepared for the Sisters.

General Joseph Breckenridge, Brigadier and Inspector General of the United States Army, visited the hospital in company with Major Edgar A. Mearns, Chief Surgeon of Volunteers at Camp Hamilton, who told the general that one Sister was worth two hundred men nurses. The general was delighted, shook hands with every Sister and thanked all for their devotedness.¹⁵

Eleven Sisters of St. Joseph from St. Louis, Missouri, arrived on September 30. On this day the Sisters were "mustered in." In all there were the eleven Sisters of St. Joseph, twelve Sisters of the Holy Cross and fifty nurses, the Sisters of Charity having already taken the oath of allegiance.¹⁶

Camp Hamilton was broken up in late November and the soldiers were moved farther south for the winter. The Sisters were sent to various other camps. The Holy Cross Sisters were transferred to Camp Conrad, near Columbus, Georgia, to nurse the sick of the First Virginia Regiment. The Sisters of Mercy had preceded them to this camp and soon all were comfortably settled. In the beginning there were only twenty-two patients, but the number was soon increased by men sent in from other regiments. Finally, an order came on January 13, 1899, that the Holy Cross Sisters should leave for Cuba by the transport *Panama*, a prize vessel captured from the Spaniards on April 25, 1898. The transport anchored in Matanzas Bay, Cuba, and Doctor Williams, who had charge of the party on board, went ashore to report. He returned with the news that the Sisters would return to the United States on the same transport, explaining that General Sternberg had visited the Army Hospital and as few there were very ill, he left orders that the nurses who had been on duty at Cuba should return to the States except the Sisters who were to remain. As the eleven Sisters of St. Joseph were sufficient to care for the few sick, the Sisters of

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 329.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 331.

the Holy Cross returned with the other nurses on the *Panama* landing in New York on January 25.¹⁷

Sisters Mary Lydia and Benita stopped in Washington to call at the War Department. Through the kind offices of Senator Mark Hanna they had an interview with President McKinley to whom they expressed their willingness to serve the country again whenever occasion demanded. The President thanked them for the efficiency, devotedness, and "splendid military discipline" of all the Sisters of the Holy Cross wherever they were stationed as nurses.¹⁸

At the request of the Governor of Ohio, the Honorable Asa S. Bushnell, Sister Mary Brendan O'Connor, Directress of Mount Carmel Hospital, at Columbus, Ohio, and Sister Edburga Petsch, left Mount Carmel Hospital to go to the various camps where soldiers from Ohio were still hospitalized and bring them to Columbus. The hospital train consisted of thirty coaches well equipped with cots and other requirements for the sick. There were two doctors from Columbus on the train and two nurses for every car. The train went through Tampa, Fernandina, Huntsville, Chickamauga, Chattanooga and Knoxville. When the train had returned to Columbus, Major Black requested the two Sisters to continue the trip to Cleveland with three coaches of sick soldiers who belonged there. This was done, and on the following night the two Sisters again reached Mount Carmel Hospital.¹⁹ Again the Governor made a request for the services of the Sisters, this time to go to Puerto Rico, also to bring back the Ohio sick soldiers. The same two Sisters went to Puerto Rico on the same errand returning to the States on the *Chester* which arrived in New Jersey on November 3, and went immediately to Washington, because the President had ordered them there that he might shake hands with the men of this regiment. The Sisters did not go with them. They went instead to St. Joseph's Asylum, one of the orphanages conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, where they unexpectedly greeted the Mother General, who was making her annual visit at this time. In a short time they were back in Columbus, to find the whole city in a glad uproar over the return of the soldiers.²⁰

¹⁷Sister M. Eleanore, *On the King's Highway*, 335.

¹⁸Sister M. Eleanore, *On the King's Highway*, 335.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 336.

²⁰Sister M. Eleanore, *On the King's Highway*, 336.

The brief term of service of the Sisters of the Holy Cross was officially recognized and many testimonials testify to the devotedness of these Religious.²¹ In an address delivered to the faculty and students of St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, October 19, 1898, Father John Cavanaugh, C. S. C., paid tribute to the Sister-nurses of Holy Cross when he said in part:

. . . You must be willing to sacrifice something that America may remain great and free. You are the Americans of the future, and you are no children of St. Mary's if every fibre of your being does not tingle with patriotism. The Sisters of the Holy Cross have nobly proved their love of country. In days long past, the religious Habit which you meet in the classroom and on the playground, has sanctified the most glorious battlefields of your country's history, and at this very hour that Habit is bringing comfort and joy to American soldiers in tent and hospital. Now, I know it is harder to live for a principle than to die for it; there are men who are corrupt politically who would die without a whimper on a battlefield. Yet it is this difficult civic patriotism which your country demands of you, as educated Christian women. . . . No man ever performed a sustained heroic work without the sympathy and assistance of some good woman.²²

²¹*A Story of Fifty Years*, 198.

²²Sister M. Eleanore, *On the King's Highway*, 337.

CHAPTER V

THE SISTERS OF SAINT JOSEPH

DURING the Middle Ages most of the Religious Orders of women were subject to enclosure and made solemn vows. It was almost an innovation when the Congregation of the Sisters of Saint Joseph was founded without enclosure and with simple vows at LePuy, France, in 1650.¹ Saint Francis de Sales meant to embody the spirit of labor and prayer in the Rule of the Daughters of the Visitation of Saint Mary, which he organized in 1610, but abandoned the idea in deference to the wishes of Archbishop Denis de Marquemont, of Lyons, who urged Francis to erect his Congregation into a cloistered Order.

The plan so reluctantly given up by the Bishop of Geneva but years later followed out by the apostle of Charity, Saint Vincent de Paul, was also destined to be realized by Bishop Henry de Maupas du Tour, of LePuy, and John Paul de Medaille, a missionary of the Society of Jesus.² In the course of his missions, many of which were given in the Diocese of LePuy, Father Medaille met with a number of young women who were desirous of retiring from the world to devote themselves to the service of God, but who, on account of their limited means, found it difficult to provide a dowry required by the cloistered Orders. Father Medaille conceived the design of suggesting to some Bishop the establishment of a Congregation in which these women might sanctify themselves and at the same time serve God in the person of their neighbor.

In 1649, Father Medaille was called to preach the Lenten sermons in the Cathedral of LePuy. The missionary made known his idea of a Religious Institute to Bishop de Maupas. The Bishop approved heartily the proposition made to him, since he long desired to see carried into effect the original plan of Francis de Sales, and at once he took measures to organize a Congregation of women with simple vows who should devote themselves to the works of teaching and of charity. To Father Medaille the Bishop entrusted

¹Sister M. Lucida Savage, *The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Cardondelet, 1650-1922* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1923), 1.

²*Ibid.*, 3.

the task of bringing together those who were eager for a life of retreat, and whose virtue and constancy had been tested. Their spiritual training was under the care of Bishop de Maupas, which began in the summer of 1650.³

On March 10, 1651, the young society received the episcopal approbation and the Congregation prospered beyond all expectation. It continued to grow throughout the dioceses of France until checked by the Revolution, when many of the Religious were sent to prison, and seven became martyrs.⁴ In 1807, however, Mother Saint John Fontbonne, the Mother Superior of the house established at Monistrol, had the opportunity to reassemble the scattered remnants of her beloved Community. Joseph Cardinal Fesch, who had been elevated to the see of Lyons in 1802, expressed his wish for the re-establishment of the Sisters of Saint Joseph in his diocese, and in obedience to his summons, Mother Saint John, accompanied by several members of her former Community, repaired to Lyons. The first foundation, however, was not made in Lyons but at St. Etienne in Forez.⁵ Finally Mother Saint John Fontbonne was elected Superior General. The diocesan authorities approved the election and designated Lyons as the place of the Mother House and the Novitiate. Mother Saint John Fontbonne practically governed the Congregation from 1807 on, and was retained in office as Superior General until her resignation in 1839, in the eightieth year of her age.⁶ It was a subject of great regret to her that LePuy, the first home of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, remained outside the jurisdiction of Lyons. But Bishop Louis Jacques Bonald of LePuy preferred autonomy for the Sisters of his diocese.

It was from this Community in Lyons that the Sisters of Saint Joseph in the New World were to make their first foundation. Through the instrumentality of the Propagation of the Faith, Bishop Joseph Rosati, C. M., of Saint Louis who was in great need of helpers in his diocese was offered by a devoted friend of the Sisters of Saint Joseph a contribution to defray the expenses of establishing a Community of the Religious for missionary work in Missouri. This was in 1835. Bishop Rosati agreed to the proposal

³Sister M. Lucida Savage, *op. cit.*, 7.

⁴*Ibid.*, 9.

⁵*Ibid.*, 17.

⁶Sister M. Lucida Savage, *op. cit.*, 23.

but expressed a desire to have some Sisters who could undertake the instruction of deaf-mutes. Sister Celestine Pommerel and Julie Fournier, a postulant, were sent to St. Etienne to learn the sign language. Six others were selected for the American mission: Sisters Febronie and Delphine Fontebonne, nieces of the Superior General, Sister Marguerite Felicite Boute, Sister Febronie Chapellon, Sister Saint Protaise Deboille and Sister Philomene Vilaine.⁷ On January 3, 1836, the six Sisters left their convent home accompanied by Father James Fontbonne, brother to Sisters Febronie and Delphine, who had also volunteered for the foreign missions. Some time was spent at Lyons and Havre, and finally on January 17 the *Heidelberg* left the shores of France and on March 5 arrived at the port of New Orleans. The Sisters were met at the landing by Father Alphonsus Moni, pastor of the cathedral in New Orleans, and conducted to the Ursuline convent where Bishop Rosati, in company with Bishop Anthony Blanc of New Orleans, visited them on the following day. The party left New Orleans March 15, arriving at St. Louis ten days later. Though Carondelet was destined to be the future home of these Sisters their first mission in America was Cahokia, Illinois, where Mother Febronie Fontbonne, Sisters Febronie Chapellon and Saint Protaise were sent to take charge of a school. Meanwhile the other three Sisters, Mother Delphine Fontbonne, Sisters Felicite Boute and Philomene Villaine remained in St. Louis until September 12, when they moved to Carondelet. A school was opened here one week after the Sisters arrived. Twenty pupils responded the first morning, most of them too poor to pay tuition. They agreed, however, to bring wood or provisions instead. While the first years in America were filled with extreme poverty as well as hardships and privations, God blessed their labors, however, for in a comparatively short time schools, orphanages and hospitals were established in each section of the country. During the Civil War they acted as nurses and when they were asked to perform a like service in the Spanish American War they assented promptly. Of the eleven Sisters who were sent to serve as army nurses Sister Ligouri McNamara, for many years Superior of St. Joseph's Hospital in Kansas City, Missouri, was placed in charge of the unit

⁷*Ibid.*, 31.

which left Carondelet, September 28, 1898. It consisted of Sisters Irmina Dougherty, Bonaventure Nealon, Delphine Dillon, Rudolph Meyers and Raymond Ward, of the St. Louis Province, and Sisters Teckla Reid, Julitta Carroll, Blandina Geary, Florentia Downs and Alois O'Dowd, experienced nurses from the hospital in St. Paul, Minnesota.⁸

The Sisters were delegated to the Second Division of the Volunteer Army at Camp Hamilton, near Lexington, Kentucky, where in temporary hospitals, six hundred men were suffering from typhoid fever and malaria. Of the one hundred nurses in charge forty-eight were Religious, the Sisters of the Holy Cross and the Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg having preceded the Sisters of St. Joseph.⁹

From Kentucky, on the breaking up of Camp Hamilton, the Sisters of St. Joseph were transferred on December 1 to Camp Gilman in Georgia, where they remained on duty until the beginning of the New Year when they were sent to Matanzas, Cuba. Mother Agatha from the St. Louis Province, with Mother Seraphine of the St. Paul province, spent several days in camp with the Sisters before the latter started for Charleston, South Carolina, the point of departure for Matanzas. This city was reached January 3, 1899. Since no arrangements had been made for the Sisters they were asked to remain on board until a temporary home could be prepared for them. Several tents placed among the rocks overlooking the bay was their convent home for some weeks. In the meantime an old Spanish mansion was converted into a government hospital where the Sisters assumed charge. At this time there were only twelve patients.¹⁰

In February, however, the number of patients increased to sixty, among whom were twelve measles patients, all of whom were isolated in a separate ward under the care of male nurses. Typhoid now became prevalent and the hospital was full to capacity. Eight field tents were erected, each containing eight cots. General J. P. Sanger in charge of the forces at Matanzas ordered all typhoid fever patients placed on board the hospital ship and taken to New

⁸Archives of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, Carondelet, Missouri.

⁹Sister M. Lucida Savage, *The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondelet*, 200.

¹⁰Archives of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, Carondelet, Missouri.

York. On April 1, a yellow fever case was brought into the hospital and placed in the care of Sister Ligouri, who, after the patient died, was placed in quarantine for three weeks in a tent on the roof of the hospital building.

In spite of all precautions the number of the sick increased, but the military authorities as rapidly as possible sent them to the North while the Sisters continued their work in the hospital until all the sick were removed. As there was no further need of the services of the Sisters in the Volunteer Army they asked to be released. Those in authority, however, had other plans. They urged the Sisters to remain and direct an orphan asylum, but Mother Agatha would not consent to this arrangement and the Sisters returned to Carondelet on April 22, 1899.¹¹

Thirty years after the foundation at Carondelet, another group of Sisters of Saint Joseph from LePuy came to Florida. This was in September, 1866. Intended for the educational needs of the inhabitants, especially for the instruction of the newly liberated slaves of St. Augustine, Florida, they found ruin and desolation as a result of the Civil War. They were prepared for this, however, as Bishop Augustin Verot, of the see of St. Augustine, who had called at the convent of the Sisters of Saint Joseph at LePuy, outlined the hardships which awaited the volunteers he was seeking for the Florida missions. While many had offered their services, eight had been selected for St. Augustine: Sisters Sidonia, Julia, Celenie, Julie Clotilde, Clemence, Josephine, Peter and Louise Joseph. They had immediately begun to study English as they knew that a thorough knowledge of the language would facilitate their work in Florida.¹² Mother Sidonia was chosen Superior of the group of missionaries who left France, August 3, 1866. They landed at New York, and on August 23 embarked for Savannah. Here the Sisters were met by Reverend Peter Dufou, who conducted them to the convent of the Sisters of Mercy. The next day they embarked for St. Augustine.¹³

When the Spanish American War broke out, they, like the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary in Key West, Florida, knew that because of the proximity of St. Augustine to the scene of con-

¹¹Archives of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, Carondelet, Missouri.

¹²Archives of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, St. Augustine, Florida.

¹³*Ibid.*

flict their services as nurses would be needed. This turned out to be the case, for almost from the beginning they were called upon to attend the sick soldiers at Palbo Beach, a seaside village on the Atlantic coast, about forty miles east of Jacksonville. Here the Sisters transformed their summer cottage into a temporary hospital. Three Sisters were on duty: Sisters Jane Francis, Celenie and Mary Ann, all from Jacksonville. Frequently the Sisters were obliged to remain at night at the bedside of those who were desperately ill and needed constant attention.¹⁴ Meanwhile Mother Antonia, and Sisters Magdeline and Josephine attended the fever patients at Fernandina, Florida. The Sisters' auditorium was used as an emergency hospital and when this proved too small, the very sick patients were moved to the Sisters' "parlor" where they could be under closer supervision.¹⁵

At Tampa, also, despite the fact that the Sisters' convent home was farther from the camps, the Sisters paid daily visits to the sick, providing them with nourishing food and delicacies. Mother Marie Louise, and Sisters Mary Clare and Loretto were the "ministering angels" in this division.¹⁶

Of the group of nine Sisters who gave their time and labor so unsparingly and cheerfully, during the months of August and September of 1898, two are living today: (1940) Sisters Josephine and Loretto.¹⁷

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶Archives of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, St. Augustine, Florida.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

THE SISTERS OF CHARITY OF NAZARETH

FROM the beginning of his episcopate Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget, of Bardstown, felt the need of a Religious Community of women to teach the principles of the Catholic religion to the youth of Kentucky and accordingly appealed to Mother Seton of Emmitsburg, Maryland. Unfortunately there were no Emmitsburg Sisters to spare for the new field,¹ and hence it was to the daughters of the early settlers that Father John Baptist Mary David, later Coadjutor Bishop of Bardstown, appealed for recruits for his proposed Sisterhood. Miss Teresa Carrico of Washington County hearing of Father David's desire decided to present herself for the cause of charity and education. She was followed in her resolution by Miss Elizabeth Wells of Jefferson County, and both young women presented themselves to the Bishop to be directed by him.

The zeal of these two young women renewed the confidence of Bishop Flaget and Father David who assigned two rooms of their own dwelling to the future Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. On December 1, 1812, they began their life of consecrated labor,² which at first consisted of spinning, weaving, visiting the sick and teaching poor children of the neighborhood. Great was their happiness, when on January 21, 1813, Catherine Spalding, a young girl who was to be the outstanding member of the early community, entered the novitiate. On the day of her arrival Father David, who had been appointed instructor and spiritual director of the new Institute, gave provisional rules to the three women, and appointed the oldest to act as superior until the Community should become large enough to justify an election.³

By Easter of 1813, the Community had increased to six, and after a retreat of seven days the first election was held. Catherine Spalding was chosen first Mother and was known as Mother Catherine throughout her life. In the meantime the Sister's residence had been removed to a new log cabin which the seminarians

¹Reverend Joseph B. Code, *Great American Foundresses*, 153.

²*Ibid.*, 154.

³Anna Blanche McGill, *The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky* (New York, 1917), 20.

of St. Thomas and willing neighbors had built.⁴ In August of 1814, Nazareth's first school was begun with Sisters Ellen O'Connell and Harriet Gardiner as the faculty, assisted when possible by Mother Catherine. During these years the Sisters had continued to follow the provisional rules given by Father David to the original group. Now they were to receive the Rules of St. Vincent de Paul, who was henceforth to be their guide and model. In the minds of Bishop Flaget and Father David this Rule was thought best suited for the Kentucky Sisterhood.⁵ The society had now attained a size which made more and more possible the benefits of Community life. Schools were opened in different localities, and with the improved conditions and better accommodations undertaken by Mother Catherine the Academy and Community grew in usefulness and in number.⁶ In 1890 the Sisters opened St. Vincent's Infirmary at East Lake, a suburb of Chattanooga, and it was here that on May 16, 1898, three soldiers were brought who had contracted pneumonia while on their way to Chickamauga Park, Georgia, where the Volunteer Army had been encamped.⁷

At this time the infirmary had eight well trained efficient nurses on the staff, Sisters Anita Gaitens, Cornelia King, Vincent Ferrer Murphy, Mary Cyril Walsh, Jovita Mullen, Mary Alban McGahey, Mary Patrick McCabe and Mary Sylvester Mattingly, who were always ready and willing to give whatever service they could to the sick soldiers that came to them for assistance.⁸ Every day new victims of pneumonia and fever arrived at the infirmary until all the rooms and wards were occupied. In some cases the malady had made such progress that the physicians had little hope for their patients; but, as one patient remarked, "the Sisters seem determined to leave nothing undone to restore health and strength."⁹ The sufferings of the soldiers, although not caused by shot and shell of the battlefield, were none the less acute and appealed to the sympathies of the Sisters. The greater number of the patients were non-Catholics, many of them had never seen Sisters of Charity. Their ideas of all things Catholic were grotesque and ridiculous in the extreme. The care of the Sisters, however, was not only a

⁴Reverend Joseph B. Code, *Great American Foundresses*, 155.

⁵*Ibid.*, 158.

⁶*Ibid.*, 166.

⁷Anna Blanche McGill, *op. cit.*, 198.

renewal of health and strength but a revelation of the beauties of Catholicism.¹⁰ One man whose son had been among the sick soldiers at the infirmary wrote to the Sisters, "Though not a Catholic, I never meet one of your Order that I do not feel like raising my hat and saying, 'God bless you'."¹¹ Other letters to the Sister nurses reveal the deep and lasting gratitude of the soldiers who considered themselves indebted to the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth for their very lives. The number of soldiers who were nursed back to health in St. Vincent's Infirmary during this period of scarcely two months was one hundred and twenty, and it was a source of great regret to the Sisters that all who applied could not be accommodated.¹²

⁸Archives of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky.

⁹Anna Blanche McGill, *op. cit.*, 198.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 199.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 199.

¹²Anna Blanche McGill, *op. cit.*, 200.

THE CONGREGATION OF AMERICAN SISTERS

THE only Religious Institute made up exclusively of American Indians was known as the Congregation of American Sisters and was founded by Mother Catherine Sacred White Buffalo, a young woman belonging to the Sioux tribe of Fort Pierre, South Dakota. Mother Catherine devoted her life to civilizing her own people and bringing them to Catholicism. She died at the early age of twenty-six after heroic exertions, and left behind her a little Community of five Sisters, who had continued the work of teaching the children of the tribes, helping the destitute and nursing the sick in their own rude houses and in the Sisters' hospital.¹³

At the outbreak of the Spanish American War these Sisters contributed to the nursing staff. In their application to the War Department this brave little band of four Sisters, Mother Mary Bridget Pleets, Mother Anthony Bordeaux, Sisters Mary Gertrude Clark and Mary Joseph Twobears,¹⁴ asked to be sent at once to the front, to follow up the line of battle and to take care of the wounded under fire, as their frontier experiences had especially fitted them for sacrifices.¹⁵

In the distribution of nurses these Sisters were sent to Camp Libre, at Jacksonville, Florida. Later they were sent to Savannah, Georgia, where they had charge of the infected wards and in nursing contagious diseases. At the discontinuance of these camps the Sisters were dispatched to Havana, Cuba, where they remained until their dismissal in the latter part of March, 1899.¹⁶

THE SISTERS OF THE THIRD ORDER OF SAINT FRANCIS

THE Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis were founded in 1855 by Bishop John Nepomucene Neumann, fourth Bishop of Philadelphia. The first members of the Institute were Marianne

¹³Alice Worthington Winthrop, *Ave Maria*, XLIX, 388.

¹⁴*American Monthly Magazine*, Daughters of the American Revolution Publication, October 11, 1897-October 11, 1898, 379.

¹⁵Alice Worthington Winthrop, *Ave Maria*, XLIX, 388.

¹⁶George Barton, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXVII, 185.

Bachman, in Religion, Mother Mary Francis; Barbara Boll, in Religion, Sister Mary Margaret, and Anna Dorn, in Religion, Sister Mary Bernardine. This Community of Sisters increased so that they were enabled to assume not only the care of the sick, but also of the orphans, of the aged and of the education of children. In 1896, with the consent and approval of Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan, of Philadelphia, the Mother House at Philadelphia was transferred to Glen Riddle, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, where the Novitiate and Mother House is now established.¹⁷

When the Spanish American War broke out these Sisters were conducting seven hospitals in the Province of Philadelphia. Although all the Sisters in the hospitals were prepared to engage in any work that the Government officials might see fit to impose on them, the Sisters in charge of St. Agnes Hospital in Philadelphia were the ones who were destined to do the active work of nursing the soldiers.¹⁸ On August 27, 1898, a group of sick soldiers came to the hospital, and from that day until November 12 they continued to come in groups. The Sisters who gave their services in this particular respect were Sisters Leo, Maura, Didaca, Hedwig, Marianne, Emerita, Philippina, Balthasar, Crucifixa, Natalia and Hildaberta.¹⁹

On one occasion the hospital bore the expense of sending a train equipped with doctors and nurses to bring seventy-four sick soldiers from Camp Meade, Middletown, Pennsylvania, to Philadelphia. Furthermore, when the city of Philadelphia sent its train to Fernandina, Florida, to bring home the sick, two of these Religious, Sisters Didaca and Marianne, took charge of the nursing. The records of the hospital report that four hundred and ninety-three sick soldiers had received the ministrations of the Sisters, of which one hundred and fifty-four had been typhoid fever patients.²⁰

¹⁷Sister Mary Agnes McCann, "Religious Orders of Women in the United States," in the *Catholic Historical Review*, VII (1921-1922), 328.

¹⁸George Barton, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXVII, 177.

¹⁹Archives of the Sisters of Saint Francis, St. Agnes Hospital, Philadelphia.

²⁰*Ibid.*

CONCLUSION

THE subject of this dissertation took its rise in, and derived its existence from, war. The dominant note of America is "peace"; nevertheless, within the last half of the nineteenth century the United States faced a devastating conflict and one of the important factors which entered into the struggle was the relief given by the American Sisterhoods to the sick and wounded soldiers. During the national catastrophes the Sisterhoods of this country responded nobly whenever and wherever they were needed. Their valuable ministrations were felt in the camp hospitals, in the tents and on hospital ships. But not only did they give their services, they gave their convents, their schools, their own hospitals and some even their lives for the succor of the stricken and the wounded who came under their ministrations.

Likewise should it be pointed out that according to the statistics the death rate for the Catholic Sisters was two per cent or five out of two hundred and fifty, whereas the death rate among the lay nurses was seven out of one thousand two hundred and fifty.¹ This striking difference in about two or three months service had been accounted for in various ways. One surgeon, Major William R. Hall said:

The only fault I had to find with the Sisters was that they would not rest, would not take care of their own health. After the long hours which their hospital service demanded, they devoted a portion of the time needed for rest to religious exercises. They arose so early in the morning for this purpose that they deprived themselves of necessary sleep, and by thus lowering their vitality exposed themselves to disease.²

As a rule the surgeons condemned the woolen habit of the Sisters saying that it was unnecessarily heavy and warm in the severe heat to which they were exposed. They felt also that it was most favorable for the growth and retention of disease germs, thus rendering it a menace to the health of nurse and of patient as well. The Sisters naturally were unwilling to make changes in the

¹Alice Worthington Winthrop, "The Work of the Sisters During the Spanish American War." *Ave Maria*, XLIX (September 30, 1899), 428.

²Alice Worthington Winthrop, *op. cit.*, 429.

essential character of their habits, endeared to them by their symbolic meaning and by historical associations. The time had not come as yet for the Sisterhoods to permit their members engaged in nursing work to wear a material lighter than the regulation weight of the respective Communities. But this was the only criticism of an otherwise noble effort of American women to dedicate their services and their lives if need be, to their country for their fellowman in the name of religion.

The activities of the various Communities were remembered for many years by the soldiers and the officials of the Army and Navy, but as time passed important details of their services were forgotten and today only the most jejune records exist, for most part in the archives of the interested communities. Yet from these meager sources it has been possible to indicate a chapter in American history replete with interest and suggestive of uncommon courage and patriotism. It might be well to point out in retrospect one aspect of their services which might be lost sight of even in this study, namely, the roster of those who made the supreme sacrifice: Sisters Anastasia Burke, Mary Larkin, Agnes Sweeney and Caroline Wolfe of the Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, and Sister Mary Elizabeth Flannagan of the Sisters of Mercy.³

APPENDIX I

SISTERS WHO NURSED IN THE SPANISH AMERICAN WAR

1. THE SISTERS OF THE HOLY NAMES OF JESUS AND MARY

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Sister Ambrose of Siena | 12. Sister John Evangelist |
| 2. Sister Anthony of Jesus | 13. Sister Laurentius |
| 3. Sister Berenice | 14. Sister Louis Gabriel |
| 4. Sister Catherine of Palauza | 15. Sister Maurice |
| 5. Sister Dolores | 16. Sister Mary Simon |
| 6. Sister Domitilde | 17. Sister Sylvester |
| 7. Sister Egidius | 18. Sister Tharsile |
| 8. Sister Florentine | 19. Sister Thomas of Jesus |
| 9. Sister Gaspard | 20. Sister Mary Ulderic |
| 10. Sister Hormisdas | 21. Sister Mary Visitation |
| 11. Sister John Anthony | |

³Daughters of the American Revolution Publication, *The American Monthly Magazine*, XV (July-December, 1899), 422.

2. THE SISTERS OF CHARITY OF EMMITSBURG

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Sister Julia Anderson | 45. Sister Marcella Duffy |
| 2. Sister Caroline Beck | 46. Sister Caroline Eck |
| 3. Sister Berchmans Beltzhoover | 47. Sister Gertrude Eisele |
| 4. Sister Regis Biller | 48. Sister Mary Joseph Driscoll |
| 5. Sister Regina Bowling | 49. Sister Alexis Fay |
| 6. Sister Stella Boyle | 50. Sister Mary Gabriel Fealy |
| 7. Sister Vincent Bradley | 51. Sister Ursula Fenton |
| 8. Sister Augustine Brady | 52. Sister Mary Rose Fitzgerald |
| 9. Sister Jerome Bres | 53. Sister Mary Ellen Fitzpatrick |
| 10. Sister Callista Brookey | 54. Sister Margaret Mary Flanagan |
| 11. Sister Josephine Brown | 55. Sister Gonzaga Forrest |
| 12. Sister Mary John Buchler | 56. Sister Mary Thomas Forrest |
| 13. Sister Anastasia Burke | 57. Sister Regina Fowler |
| 14. Sister Aimee Butterly | 58. Sister Blanche Foye |
| 15. Sister Elizabeth Byrne | 59. Sister Eulalia Galvin |
| 16. Sister Isidore Cadigan | 60. Sister Mary Alice Gannon |
| 17. Sister Aloysia Callaghan | 61. Sister Ignatia Gardner |
| 18. Sister Ambrose Callahan | 62. Sister Margaret Garvey |
| 19. Sister Camilla Campbell | 63. Sister Dolores Gillespie |
| 20. Sister Teresa Carlin | 64. Sister Frances Gilooley |
| 21. Sister Marianna Carney | 65. Sister Veronica Goulding |
| 22. Sister Mary Carroll | 66. Sister Berenice Groell |
| 23. Sister Teresa Chambers | 67. Sister Fortunata Gomez |
| 24. Sister Angela Cherry | 68. Sister Catherine Hagerty |
| 25. Sister Augustine Cleary | 69. Sister Evarista Hall |
| 26. Sister Callista Colgan | 70. Sister Marie Hall |
| 27. Sister Perboyre Conerton | 71. Sister Margaret Halpine |
| 28. Sister Louise Conlin | 72. Sister Felicite Hampson |
| 29. Sister Carmelite Connelly | 73. Sister Antonio Hanrahan |
| 30. Sister Ambrose Connolley | 74. Sister Margaret Hartnett |
| 31. Sister Marie Cosgrove | 75. Sister Margaret Henssler |
| 32. Sister Mary Frances Coyle | 76. Sister Calista Hernan |
| 33. Sister Cecilia Craine | 77. Sister Emily Hickey |
| 34. Sister Adelaide D'Aunoy | 78. Sister Beatrice Higgins |
| 35. Sister Tatiana Deery | 79. Sister Clare Hoch |
| 36. Sister Agatha Dillon | 80. Sister Mary Agnes Hodson |
| 37. Sister Loretto Dinkgrave | 81. Sister Stella Hoolehan |
| 38. Sister Vincent Doerson | 82. Sister Blanche Hooper |
| 39. Sister Mary Rose Domery | 83. Sister Regina Horrigan |
| 40. Sister Mary Loretto Donahoe | 84. Sister Theresa Houston |
| 41. Sister Thecla Downes | 85. Sister Gertrude Howe |
| 42. Sister Camilla Daly | 86. Sister Lucia James |
| 43. Sister Hilda Doyle | 87. Sister Clare Janiver |
| 44. Sister De Chantal Drennan | 88. Sister Raphael Jones |

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 89. Sister Emily Jordan | 135. Sister Perboyre Norton |
| 90. Sister Mary Gabriel Kavanaugh | 136. Sister Rose Neville |
| 91. Sister Isidore Kavanaugh | 137. Sister Isidore O'Brien |
| 92. Sister Stella Keane | 138. Sister Zita O'Brien |
| 93. Sister Apollonia Keelan | 139. Sister Loretto O'Connell |
| 94. Sister Anna Keehan | 140. Sister Mary Louise O'Connell |
| 95. Sister Scholastica Kehoe | 141. Sister Fidelis O'Connor |
| 96. Sister Bernar Kelly | 142. Sister Catherine O'Donoghue |
| 97. Sister Julia Kelly | 143. Sister Ambrose O'Dowde |
| 98. Sister Sabina Kelly | 144. Sister Harriet O'Hara |
| 99. Sister Clement Kennedy | 145. Sister Louise O'Horgan |
| 100. Sister Ligouri Kennedy | 146. Sister Anna Maria O'Keefe |
| 101. Sister Carmelite Landry | 147. Sister Cornelia O'Neill |
| 102. Sister Mary Larkin | 148. Sister Pauline O'Toole |
| 103. Sister Mary Joseph Leonard | 149. Sister Gregory Palmer |
| 104. Sister Mary Joseph Louie | 150. Sister Clara Park |
| 105. Sister Baptista Lynch | 151. Sister Isabelle Purcell |
| 106. Sister Isabella McCarthy | 152. Sister Regina Purtell |
| 107. Sister Olympia McCarthy | 153. Sister Agnes Quinn |
| 108. Sister Ligouri McClery | 154. Sister Marie Reardon |
| 109. Sister Mary Agnes McCreary | 155. Sister Lucia Reddy |
| 110. Sister Remigius McCullough | 156. Sister Veronica Reilly |
| 111. Sister Regis McDade | 157. Sister Aloysia Ratty |
| 112. Sister Ambrosia McDevitt | 158. Sister Dora Riley |
| 113. Sister Rose McDonald | 159. Sister Benedicta Roach |
| 114. Sister Julitta McElroy | 160. Sister Marie Russell |
| 115. Sister De Sales McElwee | 161. Sister Mary Oswald Schroeder |
| 116. Sister Regis McGinnis | 162. Sister Victorine Salazar |
| 117. Sister Angelica McGlynn | 163. Sister Placida Scott |
| 118. Sister Alexius McGough | 164. Sister De Sales Sceery |
| 119. Sister Mary Paul McInerney | 165. Sister Veronica Sceery |
| 120. Sister Mary Bernard McKoune | 166. Sister Benedicta Shearer |
| 121. Sister Aloysia McNamara | 167. Sister Catherine Sheehan |
| 122. Sister Mariana McNamara | 168. Sister Lawrence Sheehan |
| 123. Sister Vincent Martin | 169. Sister Elizabeth Sheehan |
| 124. Sister De Sales Minges | 170. Sister Julia Shevlin |
| 125. Sister Louise Minton | 171. Sister Clara Snyder |
| 126. Sister Patricia Malloy | 172. Sister Pauline Strable |
| 127. Sister Martina Moranville | 173. Sister Anthony Straub |
| 128. Sister Chrysostom Moynahan | 174. Sister Vincent Stuart |
| 129. Sister Gertrude Mulholland | 175. Sister Genevieve Sullivan |
| 130. Sister Margaret Mullane | 176. Sister Gertrude Sullivan |
| 131. Sister Ignatia Munyon | 177. Sister Blanche Summers |
| 132. Sister Agatha Murray | 178. Sister Agnes Sweeny |
| 133. Sister Bernardine Muth | 179. Sister Mary Agnes Sweeney |
| 134. Sister Angelica Nelson | 180. Sister Florence Taafe |

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|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 181. Sister Benigna Thompson | 186. Sister Leonide Walsh |
| 182. Sister Veronica Tynan | 187. Sister Camilla Welch |
| 183. Sister Ambrose Ulrich | 188. Sister Caroline Wolfe |
| 184. Sister Genevieve Walden | 189. Sister Ambrosia Woods |
| 185. Sister Margaret Wallace | |

3. THE SISTERS OF MERCY

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (a) BALTIMORE, MARYLAND | 10. Sister De Sales Prendergast |
| 1. Sister Celestine Doyle | 11. Sister Mary Ignatius Smith |
| 2. Sister Loyola Fenwick | 12. Sister Bernardine Stone |
| 3. Sister Elizabeth Flannagan | 13. Sister Mercedes Weld |
| 4. Sister Alexius Klinefelter | (b) BURLINGAME, CALIFORNIA |
| 5. Sister Borgia Leonard | 1. Sister Mary Clement |
| 6. Sister Nolasco McCollm | 2. Sister Mary Dolores |
| 7. Sister Bonaventure Middleton | 3. Sister Mary Louis |
| 8. Sister Ursula Mullen | 4. Sister Mary Pius |
| 9. Sister Mary Bernard O'Kane | |

4. THE SISTERS OF THE HOLY CROSS

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Sister Galasia Baden | 7. Sister Cornelius McCabe |
| 2. Sister Joachim Casey | 8. Sister Camillus McSweeney |
| 3. Sister Lydia Clifford | 9. Sister Emerentiana Nowlan |
| 4. Sister Genevieve Conway | 10. Sister Benita O'Connor |
| 5. Sister Cordelia Gahagan | 11. Sister Valentina Reid |
| 6. Sister Mary Philip Horan | 12. Sister Florentia Stack |

5. THE SISTERS OF SAINT JOSEPH

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (a) CARONDELET, MISSOURI | 11. Sister Raymond Ward |
| 1. Sister Julitta Carroll | (b) ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA |
| 2. Sister Delphine Dillon | 1. Sister Mary Ann |
| 3. Sister Irmina Dougherty | 2. Sister Mary Antonia |
| 4. Sister Florentia Downs | 3. Sister Mary Celenie |
| 5. Sister Blandian Geary | 4. Sister Mary Clare |
| 6. Sister Ligouri McNamara | 5. Sister Jane Francis |
| 7. Sister Rudolph Meyers | 6. Sister Mary Josephine |
| 8. Sister Bonaventure Nealon | 7. Sister Mary Loretta |
| 9. Sister Aloise O'Dowd | 8. Mother Marie Louise |
| 10. Sister Thecla Reid | 9. Sister Mary Magdeline |

6. THE SISTERS OF CHARITY OF NAZARETH

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Sister Anita Gaitens | 5. Sister Mary Alban McGahey |
| 2. Sister Cornelia King | 6. Sister Jovita Mullen |
| 3. Sister Mary Sylvester Mattingly | 7. Sister Vincent Ferrer Murphy |
| 4. Sister Mary Patrick McCabe | 8. Sister Mary Cyril Walsh |

7. THE CONGREGATION OF AMERICAN SISTERS

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Mother Mary Anthony Bordeaux | 3. Mother Mary Bridget Pleets |
| 2. Sister Mary Gertrude Clark | 4. Sister Mary Joseph Twobears |

8. SISTERS OF ST. FRANCIS OF PHILADELPHIA

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Sister Mary Balthasar | 7. Sister Mary Lea |
| 2. Sister Mary Crucifixa | 8. Sister Marianne |
| 3. Sister Mary Didaca | 9. Sister Maura |
| 4. Sister Emerita | 10. Sister Natalia |
| 5. Sister Mary Hedwig | 11. Sister Philippina |
| 6. Sister Hildaberta | |

Grand Total: 282.

II

SISTERS WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES IN THE WAR

1. SISTERS OF CHARITY OF EMMITSBURG

1. Sister Anastasia Burke, November 3, 1898, at Huntsville, Alabama.
2. Sister Mary Larkin, November 3, 1898, at Ponce, Puerto Rico.
3. Sister Mary Agnes Sweeney, October 23, 1898, at Huntsville, Alabama.
4. Sister Caroline Wolfe, October 15, 1898, at Lexington, Kentucky.

2. SISTERS OF MERCY OF BALTIMORE

1. Sister Mary Elizabeth Flannagan, November 1, 1898, at Knoxville, Tennessee.

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CATHOLIC TRAINING FOR MARYLAND CATHOLICS

1773-1786

BY THE REV. JOSEPH T. DURKIN, S.J.

IN 1760 Maryland Catholics were still subject to penal laws. The securing, therefore, of a Catholic education for their children was a procedure to be managed with great secrecy, and to be paid for with weighty sacrifices. Parents sent their offspring to Europe to the Catholic schools on the Continent, with the full knowledge that, in the natural course of events, they would not see them again for many years, and, perhaps, never. The story of these "Educational Convoys" to Europe has been told by Father Thomas Hughes, S.J., who based his account on the *Letter Book* of Father John Hunter, the Jesuit superior in Maryland.¹ The whole history is an index of the high value set upon a Catholic training by the early Catholics of Maryland.

Particularly significant is the list of young persons sent from Maryland at this time to enter the religious life in convents and seminaries in Europe. In October 1760 Father Hunter writes to Father Alexander Crookshanks, at Douai, that he is sending four girls and eight boys as candidates for various religious houses in England, France, and the Low Countries. In the company were the two sisters, Monica and Marianne Hagan. Two other girls of the same family were, apparently, already nuns,—Theresa with the Paris Benedictines and Elizabeth Clare in another unidentified convent. Among the young men on this same voyage was Leonard Neale, the future Archbishop of Baltimore.

Recent research has brought to light some letters written many years later by three of the Hagans, then nuns in various Communities in Europe.² The chief value of the documents, it would seem, lies in their essential humanity and simplicity. They are also living testimonials to the fact that the Jesuits' directing of religious voca-

¹Hughes, "Educational Convoys to Europe in the Olden Times," in *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. xxix (1903), pp. 24-39.

²Archives of Maryland-New York Province S. J., Nos. 202 C i, ii, iii, iv, v.

tions, under such difficulties, in early Maryland, was not without consoling and enduring fruit.³

In 1773 Monica Hagan and her sister Elizabeth Clare were nuns in a convent at Liège. They had lately received news from Father Hunter's successor, Father John Bolton, that their father had died. They return their thanks for the information, express their solicitude for other members of their family, and send tenderest regards to all their relatives and friends in Maryland:

Srs. Elizabeth Clare and Monica Clare Hagan, from Liège, juin ye 27, 1773, to Mr. John Bolton, S.J., at Portobacco, Md. Hd. Sir:

Your oblidging favour was so sensible a comfort to us that I am not able with my pen to return our thanks suficiently greatfull, as we was very much shook'd at our dear fathers death, not being acquainted with any particulars of his happy departure, which certainly has afforded us a subject of spiritual joy haveing all reason to hope by your account that he is a shearer in the happy society of the blessed. And also much oblidged to you, Sir, for assuring us that all things is so well ordered for the comfort of the family; we hope almighty God will please to continue to bestowe his blessings on them all.

It would be a great comfort to us to hear our Sr. Coomes is good and pious, as we hope she is, never hearing any thing to the contrary, and am glad to find our Brothers begins to doe well, but are greived that poor Br. William is not so good as could be wished. We hope allmighty God will give a blessing to the good endeavours of those that labours for his benefit and that he will at last be truely sensible of his true friend.

We are under a great concern, Sir, that you have been confined so long with such a bad companion, hope you will take great care not to get a relapse by going a bout to soon. We are glad to hear you are agoing to have some assistance in your labours, and hope they will be filled with the true apostolical spirit.

We beg a most greatfull return of all that is respectfull to the good gentlemen who honnord us with there remberances. Sir, please to doe us the favour to acquaint our friends that Sr.

³The reader may be shocked at the spelling and grammar of these letters. The plain fact is that the ladies, due to the Maryland persecutions, had not had the opportunity for a careful primary education. Also, they had been speaking and writing French almost exclusively for the several years. Finally, in those days a greater freedom in orthography and syntax seems to have been allowed. In order to preserve the distinctive flavor of the letters, they have not been subjected to any considerable editorial rectifications.

E. C. Elizabeth Clare and us has sent a littel packet of letters etc. and other things, that they may see we have not forgot them, tho it seems thay have us. We are both well, thank you, as also is Sr. S. and Sr. E. D., who joins with us in all that is tender and kind to all friends. Please to tell all friends that our Sr. Therese at paris is well and desire[s] to be kindly remembered to them all in particular. She says she does not think of writing this year. For our Sr. [Marianne] at Cambray we have not heard from her of some time, but hope she is well.

My time is almost elapsed, as we write this by an opportunity oblidges only to add all that is kind from our countrywomen and hope this favour will not be the last. Permit us to beg a share in pious thoughts. Permit us to subscribe ourselves with all respect possible.

He. Sir, your most oblidgeing humble
servant to command
E. C. AND M. C. HAGAN,
juin ye 27, 1773.

P.S. We forget to tell you the office of the dead was said in publick by all community for our good old friend Mr. Bedriel [?]

Ten years later the two sisters write again to Mr. Bolton. There are interesting implications regarding the manner and rate of speed of mail transmission to America in the late Eighteenth Century; more affectionate comments and inquiries with respect to family affairs; a very sane and practical discussion of the prospective religious vocation of "Niece Monica"; and expressions of hope that the end of the war will bring better times to their friends at home:

Srs. Elizabeth Clare & Monica Clare Hagan, from Rouen, Feb. ye 11, 1783, to Mr. Bolton, Port Tobacco, Md. [Mr. Bolton's note on cover is: 'Recd. Oct. 12, 1783'.]
Hon'd. Sir:

We received yours dated april ye 24, 1782, some time in June, & in very great speed. We all endeavour'd to write a great many letters, to all our friends & sent them too Messieurs Cummins & Mccarty, Port L'orient, not knowing the custom. In these occasions, we never franked them, which has been a subject of great concern to us; so my Sister at Cambray has given me notice of a gentleman going to Maryland & wish we may have this speedy enough sent too Cambray, before he

sets of for Maryland, that in case our others are lost this may prove to you all the sincerity of our regard.

We return thanks to our heavenly father for the blessing they [our friends] have in being blessed with you, his zealous apostolick servant, & heartily wish you long to live & merit a great & never fading Crown & reward.

Your letter was very pleasing & agreeable to us, being so extensive and particular. We off'd our Suffrages & prayers for our Dear Brothers soul, as also for Rev. & worthy Mr. Hunter, who I hope already enjoys the Beatifical vision of Almighty God. Doubtless if our packet of letters are arived this will prove tedious; being so anxious shall be forced to repeat many things said at that time. I purpose if I have time to inclose a few lines to our Sister Coombs. We all rejoice here very much at this pleaseing account of peace. Hope we shall now hear more frequently from you.

You say our Niece Monica is a fine young woman. You wish she was at Rouen. I shall say nothing to no one but you on this Subject, for fear off puting it in her head, but if that she really has a mind to be a Religious. I make no doubt but you will examine & try her very well, as tis a very long & expensive journey to make without we see a solid prospect of her doing well; thats to say being called to a Religious state, & that you look upon her fit. And I knowing, when [since?] my Sister Hené? is at Paris, they [sc. at Paris] want members, we asked the superior [at Paris], as thank God our house just now is pretty full, if she would be glad of such a young person & her community & her self is willing to receive her on these terms: that [is] to say that she comes well furnished with Linning & a genteel silk gown fit too appear as also a pretty change of Linning short sacks [?]; or whats more comeing to them & much at the same time fivety pounds. In case she stays & is a Religious then her friends must give her a hundred pounds more when it suits them.

Now the reason of her bringing or there remiting fivety pd. at her arrival is because they will be obliged to place her in a french monastery to learn that language, [it] being so necessary; so this will provide for that, as also the expense of her Cloathing, Profession, little affairs in her cell, &c., &c.

Inclination, nature, &c. would make me incline to have her here, but, as my sister justly says, we are well-off for numbers, & they want at Paris. A good Religious is a good Religious, wherever we are, & we must not seek the gratification of nature, sensibility. We are spouses of a crucified God, & should wish to fasten all Inclinations or ties of flesh & blood to this adorable cross.

But not too stray from our Subject: in case this Dear little niece has this desire you will bring the matter about with all your wisdom and discretion. You will pardon my intruding on your time & patience, as I will specify the manner I could wish to have her sent. A Doz. good day shirts [skirts?]; a Doz: very large night caps, [they] being very necessary in this country; a Doz. pr. of stockings; a doz. pocket Hand. which will be the best white if she does not take snuff which I hope she does not; & petticoats &c. &c. as the Ladies will know how to do; in proportion as also a good black silk cloak & one that she has used.

All this I have inserted as perhaps you may on this happy change of peace find an occasion of [sending with her] some female companion. Therefore knowing all the terms or method of acting will be no loss. But I beg and entreat you, let her wait never so long dont send her without some women in company for no one can answer for all they have too go through in so long a journey, & many very essential reasons I could add but will begin now to decline this Subject, & beg you will assure all our friends of the haveing wrote to them, in case they have not received the letters.

Sister Edelin [?] desires all thats kind to all friends. She's very well in our Dispensere. Sister Spalding is now Rev. Mother Vicaris, is a very Edefying virtuous Religious.

We have got by us many medals &c. if we could find out how to get them to you; so if you learn any method let us know.

We are very sorry times are so hard with all our good friends; but flatter ourselves that peace will bring this into better plight & I hope enable them at Leige to send you some more Husbandmen in the vineyard of our Lord.

Our ardent wishes & prayers attend you all & may your years be long & full of merit is our supplication for you; as also that we may be worthy to be united with you in the celestial Jerusalem. I hope Hon. Sir you will pardon our Long scrawl & allow us a share in your prayers & accept of our gratitude for all you doo for our Relations. Hope you will continue to exert your zeal for Dear Brother William. We are both exceeding happy and enjoy Tolerable health. Now beg your blessing. Subscribing ourselves with very great veneration & esteem, Hon. Sir your most

Obedient Humble Servants

SISTER ELIZ. CLARE & MONICA CLARE HAGAN

P.S. I have mentioned white Hand. without reflecting the Hand. are usually a Cloth wove a purpose so that will doo as well but when they send white Hand. here they make

them of coarse Cloth such as the bodies of shirts, but for that its no matter; should any thing I have said seem to much to her friends let us know good Sir. Pardon all the Liberty I have taken with you; beg you will remit these enclosed as directed. Say every [thing kind?] amongst Sister Edelin's friends as if she had wrote, as we have scarce time to scrawl this, for fear of looseing the occasion.

Shortly afterwards (as it would have seemed in those days) there is more prudent advice from Monica, in respect to another rumored religious vocation in her family. She reveals also that the great noise of the American Revolution and its aftermath has penetrated even into the cloister, and that the voluntary exiles from Maryland have not lost their interest in, and love for, their country. Monica's erring brother William has been giving her some concern, but she trusts in Mr. Bolton's influence over him. Niece Monica has apparently decided against entering the convent; her aunt receives the news philosophically. Some details about small gifts sent by the nuns to their friends in Maryland:

Sr. Monica Clare Hagan to Mr. John Bolton at Port-tobacco, Charles County, Md., from . . . , june ye 10, 1785. [Mr. Bolton's notation on outside cover: 'Received Sept. 17th, 1785. Answered July 1786']

Honour Sir:

I wrote in so great a hurry I had not time to say half what I intended. Between you and me, it seems an unadvised step for our Nephew Joseph to think of selling his Land to come over. Many a one has had a pious desire of becoming a Religious, and have not succeeded, and suppose it should be their case and they should be obliged to return to [the] world again, where must they seek out then for shelter or livelihood in such a deprave [d] condition? Who can answer for the dangerous consequences that might ensue from thence? How ever I dont presume to give advice; we remit them entirely into the hands of providence and those whom the almighty has placed over them as being much better able to advise and derict them then [than] we can do. How ever we are pretty tranquil about the matter. We look upon it as only talk.

You will be please [d] to excuse the curiosty of nuns, we should be glad to be inform'd of the certainty of the report that goes in france concerning the new and independent Country.

They say the inhabitants of Baltimore in a word the whole Nation groans h[e]avily under the present government [and] has joined to put up a petition for some mitigation from so servile a yoke which they find most insupportable. If it should be true we fear it may be attended with some bad consequences.

It is a great consolation to us to hear Brother William seem [s] to put his entire confidence in your Rd. Poor thing, it has I believe been [to the] disadvantage for his spiritual good that he was so backward and reserved to his other confessors. Far from having any confidence in them he would reather shun and fly their company. Young people of that character are greatly to be managed; for the genarality sweetness and mildness are more prevalent with them than hashness [sic] and severity, not that we blame or accuse any one of any such thing in least.

As to what regarded our Niece, Monica, there has been no disappointment in the least on any side. We told the Prioress and our Sister when we purposed her we did not know if she had any vocation to a Religious life, the step we took was only conditionally. In case she had a call to a religious state, her friends might know what to do; as it was war time and so hard and deficile for letters too pass to and gain, the terms we desired she might be taken upon was what we was in hopes might be comply'd with, which we thought would be both a comfort to her and to us.

We are afraid our Nephew Joseph is not as promising as our Niece, as you say nothing of him, but perhaps you will say there is no quistion of his being a nun, and so had not so much occasion to speak of him.

We hope you have receiv'd the little trifle we sent you of two sprigs of roses. We are very sorry it was not in our power to have sent your Rd. some thing more worthy of yr. exceptence, to express our gratitude to one that we have the greatest obligations too, and for whom we have and ever shall retain the greatest regard and esteem for, for all your fatherly goodness for us in all occasion.

Please to let us know when you write how our Nephew & Niece Mills goes on, if you are contented with their conduct, and if not too troublesome we should be glad to know the present situation of times in general.

Rd. dear Mother Abbess who is in a very ill state of health recommends herself to your good prayers. I should have say'd first desirers her best respects to your Rd., as also Rd. Mother Vicars, my Sister & Sister Edelen.

We shall be glad to know if you or any of our friends succeeded with the Recipe we sent in November last. What is

become of Mr. Mosly, Mr. Rules [?], all our old friends. Our best respects to all the good gentlemen with you, perticular all those of our acquaintences. We recommend ourselves to yours & their pious prayers, and at the same time be assured you all pertake dayly and hourly of ours. I have the honour Sir to be with the perfoundes respects,

yr. most humble Servant and friend,
MONICA CLARE HAGAN,
june ye 10, 1785.

P.S. we beg the favour if you please not to write upon so fine paper for it will not bear the journey.

The following two letters are from a third Hagan sister, Theresa, a Benedictine nun at Paris. Solicitude for their loved ones at home seems never to have deserted these pious Religious. Theresa touches affectionately on the affairs of brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces, and adds some rather common-sense comments. She tells her spiritual director how supremely happy she is in the religious life, and intersperses some commonplace news of the convent :

Rend. Sir :

I received your most kind favour of May 28, 1784, about the beginning of Nov'ber [!], for wch I return you many thanks & particularly for being so good in giving me an account of the Family of wch I should have very little news where it not for your obliging Letters.

They have not mention'd Bro. Mills nor his other two children. Mary Ann Teresa Mills I had designed for a nun when I was godmother to her, but supose she is or will be soon one of her mothers order. For our niece Monica I was not the least surprised for I did not find by your letter that you give the least hint of a vocation & [I] often said I did not think she should come, but am very glad to hear she behaves well & gives so much satisfaction & hope she will be faithfull to whatever state of life almighty God is pleas'd to place her in, wch is my sincere wishes & prayers for each one of our Family.

I return you my best thanks for the great charity & goodness you have for Dr. Bro. William & Most humbly beg you will be so kind as to continue this your charity to his last breath. His setuation affords me a greater comfort then [sc. than] I can express, as I hope he will gain by it the one only thing necessary, which is his eternall salvation. I shall write to him by this occasion.

Please to say all thats kind to niece [S?] ally Garner & her Str. M. Ann T. Mills. Tell the former I shall be sure to pray for ye person she desired after my poor fashion all thats kind to him.

I am very glad to hear Str. patty is become more tractable to her sister. I supose her stiffness to proceed from the small share of witt wch I feard would be the case, tho she was but young when I left her. Pray Sir do my [sic] the Favour to tell me if she is capable of aproaching y Holy Sacraments. If she is it will be a very great comfort to me. I am very glad she lives with Str. Ally & wish with all my heart that Dr. Brother William was with her two, in case it was agreable to Brother Coomes without wch I should be very sorry she did any thing. Theres nothing she could more oblige her sisters on this side of ye Sea than in taken him to live with her, per-ticularly as she says he has desired it.

As our last letters had so good luck I intend to send some if not all by ye same way to ye two gentlemen Mcarty, common marchands in L'orient en bratany, and desire them to forrow'd them as directed to Baltimore.

We have been in a great embarra for near 17 months to gather [funds?] in [for?] building a new church & quire, which was in very great danger & found to be much more so then we thought off, for the gentleman who under took ye work, said it was the greatest providence we had not been buried in the ruins, for great part of the foundation of the quire there was nothing but sand to support it. We had mass all that while in one of the chambers within ye convent. Good Mr. Meynel who was at that time in Paris came into our convent to say Mass & passed a whole morning with us. He told me he would speak to Mr. Talbott at London, & that we might send as many letters as we pleased.

Good Mr. Semmes was in Paris last summer near six weeks, came often to see his sister, Str. Mary Frances. He was also in the convent for ye same reason. They are two very agreable gentlemen. Mr. Semmes was then in very good health.

Our new church & quire was bless'd. ye 1st [?] of last Sep'ber & on ye same day got back to our dear quire. I must tell you Sir that I think if I had been to chouse of all the convents in France I could not have found any one so much to my great satisfaction as this wch I am in. The great union & charity which [are] found in the community I bless almighty God still reigns more & more in our house. We can take no one to pension with us whoever, very little going to ye grates & many other things wch I omitt mentioning not knowing what hands my letter may fall into before it arrives to yours.

I take great Shear with you & yrs. for ye loss of good Rnd. Mr. Howard. His death was & is very much regrated, but I hope he is a praying for us all & that he will interceed to almighty God to send a number of zealous promoters of his glory into his vineyard.

Almighty God was pleased to visit us in a most sencible maner ye 13 of last June in calling to himself our Dr. & worthy Prioress Mo. Mary Mag Johnson who had been Sup'or near 18 years. I humbly beg your good prayers for her. The Sup'or at present is Rnd. Mother Máry Clare Bond a very pious good Religious in whom I have reason to hope we shall be very happy. She desires her respects to you as does Str. M. Frances Semmes. She returns many thanks to you for ye comfortable account you gave her of her Sister & Family. She intends to write to her Sister & will send it with some of ours. My best respects if you please to Mr. Mathews & compliments to all Friends as if mentioned.

I most humbly beg you will have ye charity to remember me in your good prayers particulorly at the altar wch will very much oblige her who is with great esteem & respect Sir your most obent. Servant

STR. THERESA HAGAN,
'HENNY'.

This goes by L'orient.

In her second letter Theresa gives a few glances at the contemporary European religious scene, introduces us to the Marquis de Lafayette and his "pious lady", refers to sisters Marianne, Elizabeth Clare, and Monica, and promises to write "next year" to her family in Maryland:

Rnd. Father:

I recie'd. your favour of . . . in october for which I return you many thanks. Am very sorry to find by it that you are confin'd from assisting yr. dear flock, who must have such need of your help, but hope our dear Lord has been pleased before this to restore you to your health for His greater glory and good of his people.

We rejoiced exceedingly that the jubilee has had such a good effect and religion [is] in so flourishing a way. May almighty God for his Holy Name's sake dayly more and more increase it there and throughout the whole world. There has been in our house several communions and Te Deums offered up in thanksgiving. . . . It would indeed be a very great blessing if all America should be converted and that there were some monisteries there that might make a small atonement to al-

mighty God for the faults of emperors. . . . What the poor distressed religious has and does still suffer is more than can be expressed. Tho many think and hopes that the English will not be suppressed. Md. [?] Louisa has been a great friend to them on the occasion, has taken all the Teresians who desired to quit those parts besides a whole convent of poor Clares, and would have taken the English Teresians in some of the houses here had they been suppressed.⁴

I am much comforted to hear dr. Bro. Billy bears his affliction so patiently, my only desire for him is his eternal good, and most humbly beg there never may be the least step in that regard for what I or any of my Strs. here may have said, for I am sure they desire nothing but his greater good. For what you have told me is sufficient for us not to desire his going to Bro. Coomes, and I should be very sorry to hear it, and must own it would give me great pain as thinking I might have been the occasion, and believe I should not have troubled you so soon but on that account.

I had a little spiting of blood last Spring wch left a weakness in my breast [so] that I was obliged to be despenced from choir for four or five months, but not so ill as to hinder me from saying the divine office to myself, wch I thank almighty God I was able to do for ye most of ye time and am at present in good health tho from time to time find writing more painfull than formely; so hope my dr. bros. and sisters will excuse my not writing to them this year. I wrote and sent often letters last april but have never heard whether they got safe, one to Bro. William, Bro. Joseph, Str. Cooms, Str. Hagan.

Str. Eliz. Clare they tell me is much as usual, but amuses [?] herself by walking about and twinning [?] so that she serves the Holy Religion which to her natural active disposition affords her comfort.⁵ She is beloved and esteemed, and so is Monica. Str. [Marianne] at Cambray and Str. Monica both very well. I have a very great comfort in all three and many a merry letter passes between us.

Our kind affections to all our Bros. and Strs., nephews and neices, particularly Str. Patty. Tell her she may be very sure I shall never forget her in my poor prayers and beg she will now and then say a Hail Mary for me as well as for herself, that our Bd. Lady may be a Mother to us both, wch, I am sure, she will be if we pray with fervour. This I have said that you may read it to her if you think proper.⁶

⁴This seems to refer to Maria Louisa of Spain, but the text is obscure.

⁵This passage is obscure. The most reasonable interpretation seems to be that Sister Elizabeth Clare had been ill, but was now sufficiently recovered to walk about and to do light work (?).

⁶Patty was Theresa's small sister, and was still quite young.

Str. Marianne has always had good health . . . accept [sc. except?] . . . on her entry to France, small pox, &c. She prays for you I don't doubt but shall put her mind [sc. put her in mind of it] when I write. If my poor prayers can be of any service to you or yours I shall not be wanting and most humbly beg a continuation of your Holy ones that I may truly be such as you might reasonably think I ought to be by this time.

Str. Mary Frances presents her Best respects to you and desired me to return you many thanks for ye agreeable account you was so good to give her of Str. Adams and Family. She says also that you have all the Liberty in the world to read and correct her letter if you find she has said too much. In hers you will find ye account of a miracle wrought by Bd. Benedict Joseph. . . .

The Marquis Lafayette who I don't doubt but you have heard speak off—he was a very busy man in the late war—he has with him one Beats a presbyterian native of New England. I have seen him [sc. Beats] very often. I told him of Mr. Thiars, his countrymans conversion; he seem'd very desirous to see him and inquired his name and where he was, the wch I told him. There is great hopes of his becoming a Catholick. He is about two or three [and] twenty. The marquise who is a very pious Lady, I believe she will procure his going to stay some time with our Rnd. Fathers at St. Edmunds in Paris. The Lady and family lives in Paris very near them. Pray for him.

I hope ye young Ladys who has a true vocation for a religious state will not let themselves be took off on account of the Troubles of ye Low Countries. There is many houses in France, and I make no doubt but they would be received with a reasonable portion, so dont let them lose heart, but confide entirely in him who has called them whose infinite goodness & divine providence will always have care of them.

I dont know which of ye Mr. Meynels it was that came to see us, he seems a very agreeable Fatherly gentleman. He seem'd to be aged about 50. He told me he would speak to Mr. Talbott in London to forrward whatever Letters came to him for Maryland & that we might send as many as we pleased by hand to him. I beleive the four I sent last year is lossed on account of not being directed right, tho I dont find any has gone safe accept those which has been frank'd at ye great post in Paris down to L'orient en Britany to ye Messieurs Cuming & Macarty. They were so oobliging to say whatever letters they receive directed for Baltimore Maryland they will take care off.

Rnd. Mother prioress presents her kindest respects, she is thank almighty God pretty well. Her reverence with other prayers said she would offer up three communions in thanksgiving to the Divine goodness for the great mercy he has been pleased to show to our country. She most earnestly begs as we all do a remembrance in your Holy prayers, that we may all meet together in a happy eternaty wch is the wishes and prayers of her who is with esteem & respect yr. Reverences most obent. Humble Servant,

STR. THERESE HAGAN.

P.S. I thought to have wrote this over again but confiding your goodness will excuse & pardon y bad writing &c &c.

I beleive I have seen your worthy superior . . . years ago at our grate. If it be the same Mr. Carrol who had the ca urton, ye present Lord. . . . Please to make my respects to him.

A GREAT SOUTHERN CATHOLIC

BY JOSEPH HERMAN SCHAUINGER, PH.D.

OF William Joseph Gaston, first student of Georgetown College, Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, beloved friend of those two frontier clerics, Bishop Simon Bruté de Rémur of the Northwest Territory and Bishop John England of the Carolinas, the Archivist of the United States, Dr. Robert D. W. Connor, has well said, "Probably no other American who had so brief a public career ever enjoyed among his contemporaries such an extraordinary wide and favorable reputation for statesmanship and legal learning, although two-thirds of his adult life was spent in the practice of a country lawyer."¹

Gaston was born on September 19, 1778 in New Bern, North Carolina. His father was killed in the Revolution, and he received his early training at the hands of a pious Catholic mother, who sent him to Georgetown College even before the first building of that institution was completed. Here he remained less than two years, being finally graduated from Princeton. He studied law under that eccentric but famed Francois X. Martin, who became the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, and who had more to do with forming the jurisprudence of that State than any other single individual.² Gaston was admitted to the bar in 1798 at the age of twenty. Two years later he was elected to the State Senate. He served in his State Legislature about eleven different terms, was once Presidential Elector, represented his county in the Constitutional Convention of 1835, was elected to the Supreme Court two years previously, and was not only the acknowledged leader of the bar in his State, but also took either a leading or prominent part in every movement looking toward the advancement of North Carolina. The only national position ever held by him was that of Congressman during two Congresses, the thirteenth and fourteenth. Yet, despite this he was not only known by almost every member

¹R. D. W. Connor, "William Gaston: A Southern Federalist of the Old School and His Yankee Friends," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, XLIII, 1933.

²W. W. Howe, "Francois X. Martin," *Great American Lawyers*, II, 411-452 (ed. W. D. Lewis).

of the profession in the country, but was also so well respected and loved that had he not been so completely identified with the dying party of Federalists there would have been no office high enough in the gift of his country that would not have been his. By the force of his character and personality, by the breadth of his talents and wisdom, by the depths of his statesmanship and public integrity he forged his way into the hearts of his contemporaries. The high regard in which he was held by so many of our great public men of ante-bellum times is an astonishing thing, and can only be explained by his own blameless life and purity of heart.

Bishop Simon Bruté de Rémur, whom President John Quincy Adams once characterized as the most learned man in America, loved Gaston with all the intensity of an ardent French temperament. He once asked Gaston if his expressions of affection were too much and if the sentiments he expressed would do.³ Their friendship began at Georgetown when Father Grassi, then president of the college, told the priest that "the good man at Communion was a busy member of Congress, and it increased here [Emmitsburg] after you had seen Mrs. Seton and known in a moment what a good soul she was."⁴ Bruté was then a professor at Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, Maryland, and finally became president of this former seat of Catholic leaders, learning, and thought. He was constantly writing to Gaston for his opinion on current literature,⁵ asking him for essays or else to correct those written by himself,⁶ and through every letter ran some such phrase as "you can't believe how much I think of you."⁷ He expressed a hope that Gaston would enter the priesthood, saying, "what a delight if before I die I could hear that you were Bishop of North Carolina at Raleigh . . . Rt. Rev. W. G. . . . Why not?"⁸ The rumors that Gaston might be nominated for the Vice Presidency, which were constantly cropping up, alarmed the gentle Frenchman and caused him to exclaim, "You, the Vice President! Oh, no! Rather you were the priest of North Carolina. There is time enough yet. Come, in place of your Vice Presidency preside here

³Bruté to Gaston, April 11, 1822, Bruté Collection, Notre Dame University.

⁴Same to same, April 30, 1831.

⁵Same to same, June 16, 1834.

⁶Same to same, April 23, 1821.

⁷Same to same, July 27, 1832.

⁸Same to same, Dec. 7, 1828.

with Dr. Purcell.”⁹ However, he finally admitted that for the good of the country he could wish such an event. Sometimes Bishop England’s passionate tirades in the *United States Catholic Miscellany* would arouse the anxiety of Bruté, and in writing to Gaston about it he would indicate that only to him did he speak of the subject. He thought that a leader, and especially a spiritual one, should guard more against expressing his feelings. With his usual unique mode of expression he cried to his friend, “It made me bleed along pages of the *Miscellany* when all that candor . . . why to write before passion is cooled, why no friend, no counsel with whom to read over . . . Dr. England will have himself confess that he is more the man of feeling and after candor than consummate prudence. . . .”¹⁰ Gaston must have said something to England concerning this policy for the latter once asked him if he were better pleased with the *Miscellany*.¹¹ When Father Bruté went with Purcell to attend the Councils he wrote Gaston that he longed to have him along to profit by his ripper wisdom and advice.

Bishop England started on his field of labor in North Carolina from the house and under the guidance of William Gaston. Before they had met England wrote to him that he had been appointed Bishop of that territory and had not seen any person who could give him information about the religious state of that district and so wished Gaston’s sentiments on the subject “as from the statements made to me of your zeal for religion you are the best person to call upon.”¹² The Bishop arrived in Newbern late in May of 1821 and was put up in the Gaston home on Craven Street. There the few Catholics of the town met to attend the Bishop’s Mass in the large front room. From that time until Bishop England’s death they maintained a firm friendship. The Bishop constantly called upon the lawyer for legal aid, for advice on parochial matters, asked him for articles for his newspaper,¹³ the *Miscellany*, and without Gaston’s pecuniary assistance would have not been able to continue the publication of this weekly.¹⁴ England once said

⁹Same to same, July 11, 1832.

¹⁰Same to same, Aug. 14, ——. Bruté wrote Gaston more than 140 letters. I have been unable to locate any letters of Gaston to him.

¹¹England to Gaston, Oct. 13, 1824, *American Catholic Historical Society Records*, XIX, 101. Cited hereafter as ACHSR.

¹²Bishop England to Gaston, Jan. 9, 1821, Gaston MSS, U. N. C.

¹³Same to same, Sept. 21, 1822, ACHSR, XVIII, 381.

¹⁴Same to same, Feb. 21, 1826, XIX, 106.

to Gaston, after mentioning an anxiety about his health, that "I could not afford to lose you ; God Almighty would not deprive me of your aid for some time."¹⁵ These two great Bishops not only deeply loved Gaston, but instinctively turned to him for aid, comfort, and advice.

England once told his friend that in speaking to President Adams his name had come up and Adams "appeared to think it news that you were a Popish churchwarden."¹⁶ The President, however, held the North Carolinian in high esteem, and proposed him for a cabinet post, but was overruled in this wish by Henry Clay, who wished one of his own men for the place.¹⁷

Gaston had first met Clay in the Thirteenth Congress, which convened in May of 1813. He had been elected to this Congress as a Federalist on a plank of opposition to the war. His maiden speech in Congress was directed against Clay because of a decision of the latter as Speaker, and it marked the first of many such clashes with the Kentuckian. One of Gaston's attacks so caught Clay off-guard that he was unable to make adequate reply, and from that time until the Whig campaign in 1840, relations between the two were severed. However, soon after Gaston's death Clay was in Raleigh and in a speech there, eulogized the former, saying that once he had been very mistaken while Gaston had been right.¹⁸

During this same Congress another war hawk, John C. Calhoun, in the heat of a debate which almost lead to two duels for the fiery member from North Carolina, remarked of Gaston, "His conduct seems to me to be in the true spirit of an honest opposition. . . . It is thus we may divide among ourselves and the national strength not be impaired . . . it comports with the conduct of a good citizen."¹⁹ A friendship sprang up between the two men which lasted until Calhoun came forward with his doctrine of nullification. Gaston had always a deep love of the Union and he feared that the South Carolinian's doctrine contained the seeds of disunion and war. Then Gaston said of him, among other things, that he was

¹⁵Most of the letters of England to Gaston are in the ACHSR, XVIII, XIX. The letters of Gaston were turned over to the diocese and accidentally burned.

¹⁶England to Gaston, Jan. 29, 1826, ACHSR, XIX, 104.

¹⁷C. F. Adams, ed. *The Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, (1875), VII, 547.

¹⁸Raleigh Register, June 25, 1844.

¹⁹*Annals of Congress*, Thirteenth Congress, Second Session, p. 1691.

afraid Calhoun had "a bee in his bonnet," and "what a pity that such a mind as his should be so warped from its rectitude by unholy passions."²⁰

Calhoun's defense of Gaston had been in answer to the bitter attack on him by John Forsyth of Georgia who wrathfully observed that "Mr. Gaston has recommended moderation, liberality and forbearance, but he has not given us an example. . . . His language is correct, gentlemanly, and polished. No harsh terms deform the smoothness of his periods . . . but . . . it matters not whether the victim is struck down by a butcher's cleve or a glittering Spanish blade."²¹

The shafts aimed by Gaston, Webster, Alexander Hanson, Thomas Grosvenor, and other Federalists may have irked the discomforted frontiersmen, but were as music to others like the famed John Randolph of Roanoke who told Francis Scott Key that he was much pleased with Gaston's latest speech. "Chief Justice Marshall," said Randolph, "had taught me to think highly of his abilities, and my expectations, although raised, have not been disappointed."²² Randolph always retained a warm affection for Gaston, and asked the latter to visit him whenever he was in the Capital to plead a case before the Supreme Court. On another occasion Randolph said to him, "To be remembered by you is very gratifying to me. I have never omitted an occasion of making inquiry after you since we separated and I am gratified to learn that we are to have the pleasure of your company during the sitting of the Court when I shall enjoy the double pleasure of seeing you and our great and good friend, Marshall, at the same time."²³ A member of this Congress who wrote a history of the period reports that Gaston was a handsome man, of pleasing address and speech, and that "Mr. G was one of the ablest and most pleasing speakers of the House, and a leading member of the opposition."²⁴

The period in our history when the doctrines of the Revolution culminated into the so-called Jeffersonian Democracy and found

²⁰Gaston to Robt. Donaldson, Sept. 3, 1831, Gaston MSS, U. N. C.

²¹*Annals of Congress*, Thirteenth Congress, Second Session, p. 1690.

²²Hugh A. Garland, *Life of John Randolph of Roanoke*, II, 17.

²³Randolph to Gaston, Jan. 6, 1820, Gaston MSS, U. N. C.

²⁴Charles J. Ingersoll, *History of the Second War Between the United States and Great Britain*, p. 123 and p. 207.

their completion in Jacksonian Democracy, also noted by the dominance of John Marshall on the bench of the Supreme Court, perhaps may be called the golden age of lawyers. This was a time when the very rumor that such brilliant men as Daniel Webster, Luther Martin, William Pinkney, Joseph Hopkinson, and their colleagues were to argue a case before the high court would empty the halls of Congress and draw to the little room of the Supreme Court all the society of the Capital. An item from the *National Intelligencer* of February 24, 1814, reading "When Pinkney and Dexter speak it is hard to keep a quorum in Congress as everybody crowds to the Supreme Court rooms to hear them," is illustrative, such notices being often. When Burr was tried for treason his leading counsels were Martin and Hopkinson. The latter became one of Gaston's best friends and for a time practically a father to his daughter when she was in school at Philadelphia. To him Gaston warmly exclaimed, ". . . In the number of these [my friends] I need not say you are included . . . I took to you mightily from the first."²⁵ This love was reciprocated by the famed author of "Hail Columbia," who asked Gaston to move to Philadelphia, so he could have the pleasure of his company always. He told him that the bar of the city "was bare of the kind of men calculated for the first grade of business," and assured him that they would welcome him. "They will give you," said Hopkinson, "business of the grade you're entitled to . . . in a theatre worthy of your talents. . . ." ²⁶

When the champion of New England, Daniel Webster, first appeared in the Congressional hall he found his seat saved for him by a friend near that of the Southerner, William Gaston. It was not long before the two were in love with one another's character and talents. They acted together in attempting to checkmate the war hawks of Henry Clay. Once Gaston gave a particularly brilliant speech, exposing many of the errors of the administration. The *National Intelligencer* would not copy it, so his friends asked him to write it out for a Federalist paper, but this Gaston refused to do. Finally Webster was sent to change his mind, and the con-

²⁵Gaston to Hopkinson, March 22, 1822, Hopkinson Collection, Pennsylvania Historical Society.

²⁶Hopkinson to Gaston, May 11, 1818, Gaston MSS, U. N. C.

clusion of the incident saw "the God-like Daniel" sitting up all night at a desk copying furiously at Gaston's dictation. It was not unusual for the great orator to send a paper to his friend with the request to "cast your eye over this, and tell an old friend if his view of the Constitutional question be wrong."

Probably no single individual more interpreted the Constitution than John Marshall. Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina, was a seat of the Federal Court, and Marshall was one of the two Federal judges for this district, so Gaston argued many a case before him. The Chief Justice's opinion of the Carolinian may be easily seen from the words of a fellow lawyer, Senator George E. Badger, who told a friend that "I have been employed for some days past in the Circuit Court of the United States where brother Gaston is all in all, and although I have heard much and seen a little of *leaning* yet never saw I, or heard I of such complete supporting upon a lawyer as of Chief Justice Marshall upon Gaston. The Chief Justice seems to be but his echo, though he is not aware of it, for his integrity is certainly pure."²⁷ Marshall thought highly of Gaston, and esteemed him as one of his best friends. Replying to a letter of the latter, seeking information on North Carolina land titles, Marshall told him that he rejoiced that he was in the legislature of his own State since he had determined to withdraw from that of the Union.²⁸ When Gaston made his famous address at the University of North Carolina, lashing the system of slavery as well as Calhoun's doctrine of nullification, Marshall in congratulating him said that his observations constituted the true basis of the character to which statesmen ought to aspire. The Chief Justice wrote the preface to one of the editions of this address which was republished several times.

Marshall's closest associate upon the bench was the New Englander, Joseph Story, who was appointed to the Supreme Court at the age of thirty-two. Beveridge in his *Life of John Marshall* states that he supplied exactly the accomplishment and toilsomeness that Marshall lacked, and that the intellect of the younger man was not far inferior in strength or much less clear and direct in its

²⁷Badger to Thomas Ruffin, Nov. 18, 1828, J. G. deR. Hamilton, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, I, 455.

²⁸Marshall to Gaston, Dec. 11, 1818, Gaston MSS, U. N. C.

operation. In 1826 this associate justice was responsible for Harvard University conferring upon Gaston the honorary LL.D. Story told William Sullivan that his reasons for naming him were that he was one of the most distinguished of American lawyers in the highest sense of the phrase, "eminent as a statesman, and as a private gentleman all that one could wish for or desire." As Gaston was a Catholic Story was most anxious that a Protestant university "should show its liberality by doing homage to a gentleman of a different faith and so honor itself by a fair exhibition of Christian virtue." He told Sullivan that the honor was on themselves and not on Gaston. "He is," continued Story, "truly a Doctor of Laws, whom to know is to respect."²⁹ Many years after this event Story told William A. Graham of North Carolina that he placed in the first rank of legal talent Webster, Mason, Wirt, and Gaston. The sharp-faced Bushrod Washington, another associate of Marshall in the Supreme Court, once remarked that Gaston was one among a half-dozen men he would like to see with him at a table.

When Marshall died in 1835 conjecture was rife as to whom Jackson would nominate to succeed him. The story was current in North Carolina that Marshall had stated several times that he would retire if he could be assured that Gaston would take his place. By this time Gaston had been three years upon the bench of the Supreme Court in his own State. Gaston's daughter, Susan, living then on the Hudson, told him that Webster felt that her father was the *only* one who could succeed the great Justice. The *New York Courier* of July 22, 1835 recommended Gaston, but expressed the thought that "he is too pure a patriot and too good a man and possesses too much fitness for the station to be thought of for a moment at the White House." However, President Jackson had other ideas, and wished to reward a faithful friend and ally with the position. His nomination of Roger B. Taney placed another friend of Gaston's upon a court bench. Taney, another Catholic, and like Gaston, a legal aid to Bishop England, thought highly of Gaston, and the two did many favors for each other. They exchanged information about such things as the college at Emmitsburg, and Taney's remark, "I had hoped you

²⁹Story to Sullivan, Oct. 22, 1826, Georgetown University Archives.

would come to Maryland this summer, but with the pestilence in the towns and vallies we cannot regret our friend did not come," is typical of their close relation.³⁰

One of the greatest lawyers in our history, a man famed even now because of his authorship of several volumes of *Commentaries*, was Chancellor James Kent of New York. Beveridge says of him that he was looked upon by the bench and bar of the whole country as the most learned of American jurists, and next to Marshall the ablest.³¹ During the course of the Fourteenth Congress Gaston had delivered a great speech upon the "Previous Question" and its use by the administration. Some seventeen years later Kent re-read this and wrote Gaston that this admirable production was a "conclusive law and constitutional argument, with the most diligent examination and keen critical analysis of the documentary authorities."³² After Gaston's appointment to the Supreme Court of North Carolina he often sought the advice of Kent on intricate legal problems. Upon one of these occasions Kent, after making some suggestions, observed, "Perhaps I have said a great deal too much, considering your far superior and more familiar information and knowledge on the subject of common law doctrines."³³

A prominent Catholic, the well known editor of the *National Gazette* of Washington, Robert Walsh, many times published praises of Gaston and when the editor was about to visit Europe he wrote him for information about himself and his writings as he wished to publish while in the old world sketches of the "most eminent men among the living writers of America." The president of the Second Bank of the United States, Nicholas Biddle, once in asking Gaston for certain information, closed his letter on the note "I am so accustomed, like the rest of your countrymen, to consider what you say as decisive that I always regarded this a settled point."³⁴

The State Constitution of North Carolina contained a clause disbarring from State office all those who did not believe in the truths of the Protestant religion. Despite this Gaston was elected

³⁰Taney to Gaston, Sept. 24, 1832, Gaston MSS, U. N. C.

³¹A. J. Beveridge, *Life of John Marshall*, IV, 256.

³²Kent to Gaston, Nov. 14, 1833, Gaston MSS, U. N. C.

³³Kent to Gaston, June 24, 1841, Gaston MSS, U. N. C.

³⁴Biddle to Gaston, May 26, 1838, Gaston MSS, U. N. C.

by the legislature to the Supreme Court. He had been reluctant to accept this office, but the Chief Justice, Thomas Ruffin, writing eleven closely written pages to him in reference to the affair, threatened that if Gaston did not accept the position he would resign and the Supreme Court would disappear. Almost every prominent man in the State wished him to take the place: Governor David L. Swain, George E. Badger, and Thomas Polk were a few among these to add their importunities, and the appointment met with universal acclamation throughout the land. William Hooper, well known educator and President of the University of South Carolina, said of it, "The appointment of Mr. Gaston to the highest judicial office in the gift of his country, in spite of the verbal prohibition of the law, is one of the highest attestations of his pre-eminent merit."

When the Convention met to amend the Constitution in 1835 one of the articles debated on was that containing this religious qualification. Judge Toomer was among those opposed to dropping it, as he felt it was no bar to Catholics, and in discussing the question he paid a remarkable tribute to Gaston, saying:

A distinguished member of the Convention publicly professing and openly avowing the doctrines of the Catholic Church has been recently appointed by the Assembly to one of the highest judicial stations in the State. Profoundly learned in the law, and eminently skilled in the solution of constitutional questions; of irreproachable character and fastidiously scrupulous in matters of conscience; of retiring habits; not seeking but declining office, he accepted the appointment in obedience to the public will. . . .

From all this it may be seen how a few of Gaston's contemporaries, men high in public life, regarded him, and it reveals the general opinion of him held by all. This feeling was shared by editors and publishers of newspapers all over the country.

The North Carolina *Free Press*, opposed to his political views, in speaking of his election to the State Legislature in 1831, said of him, "Mr. Gaston is a veteran in political and legal contests and his superior skill and prowess have been felt and acknowledged in our National and State legislatures and in our highest judicial courts by our most eminent statesmen and jurists."³⁵

³⁵December 6, 1831.

On another occasion the *Washington Republican* of Jonesboro, Tennessee made this comment, "We are much mistaken if she [the country] can boast of any amongst them as well qualified by high intellectual attainments, purity of moral character, and ardent patriotism, to confer lasting glory on his state and permanent good on the nation as this distinguished American. . . . Certain we are that he has few equal anywhere. . . ." ³⁶

The Boston *Daily Advertiser and Patriot* speaking of his address at the University of North Carolina remarked, "His rank as an able, sincere, and patriotic statesman was second to none of his contemporaries. The whole nation were, at one time, as much interested in what Mr. Gaston thought and said as in the thoughts and speeches of its most distinguished citizens. . . ." ³⁷

Colleges and learned societies added their names in the columns of his admirers. Besides Harvard, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Princeton, and the College of New York conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws; the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Yale made him an honorary member; practically every college in the country either asked him to speak at their commencement exercises or made him an honorary member of their literary societies, and he was elected to most of the learned societies of the nation. The entire nation lamented his passing in January of 1844. The State of North Carolina has paid high tribute to him, a Catholic, and has reflected glory upon itself, when it elected to place his bust with one other at the entrance of the Supreme Court building.

³⁶Quoted in *Raleigh Register*, Sept. 10, 1833.

³⁷Quoted in *New Bern Spectator*, Aug. 17, 1832.

A CONFEDERATE CHAPLAIN'S WAR JOURNAL

BY WILLIAM H. DODD

MORRISTOWN, NEW JERSEY, has given an inspiring chapter to the history of the Revolution. It has also in its records the singular and most interesting story of the sacerdotal career of the Reverend James Sheeran, pastor of St. Mary's Church there, from October 1871 to his death April 3, 1881.

He was born in the County Longford, Ireland in 1814 and emigrated to New York in early manhood. After a brief stay, he went West to teach school in a parish, at Monroe, Michigan in charge of Redemptorist Fathers. He married and had two children, son and daughter. His wife died, his son became a Redemptorist novice and the daughter a Benedictine Nun at Westmoreland, Pennsylvania and on the death of the son, he determined to join the Redemptorists himself as his substitute. He entered the Congregation, and persevering was ordained, and became a most efficient missionary.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861 he was attached to the Redemptorist Church of St. Alphonsus, New Orleans and had there attained a splendid local reputation for his heroic conduct during a yellow fever epidemic. He was appointed chaplain of the Fourteenth Louisiana Infantry and with that regiment went to Virginia, arriving at Richmond, September 9, 1861, to be assigned to the famous Stonewall Jackson brigade of the Confederate army. He served all during the War and then returned to the Redemptorists. But the long absence from Religious Rule and army life, made the experience irksome and unbearable so he withdrew from the Congregation and was adopted by Bishop Bayley (later Archbishop of Baltimore) for the Diocese of Newark, New Jersey, ministering thereafter, as above noted until his death.¹

While in the army Father Sheeran kept a *War Journal* of the daily happenings, detailing all about the incidents and the personalities he considered worth noting. Before he died he gave this

¹Flynn, Joseph M., *The Catholic Church in New Jersey*, Morristown, N. J., 1904.

Journal to Bishop Corrigan of Newark (later Archbishop of New York) who passed it on to his brother Dr. Joseph Corrigan, who was one of the founders of the proposed Catholic colony of the Seventies in Florida and Dr. Corrigan gave it to his son and namesake Judge Corrigan of New York. He was a neighbor on the shore of Lake Jovita of St. Leo's Benedictine Abbey, Pasco County, Florida, and he allowed the faculty to have a copy made of the *Journal* to be preserved in the Abbey library.

In the summer of 1929 the Rev. Terence King, S.J., while giving a retreat at the Abbey read the *Journal* and finding in it Father Sheeran's account of the encampment of his regiment at Frederick, Maryland, and a visit he made to its Jesuit Novitiate, copied what he said and made an article of it for *Woodstock Letters* (October 1929) from which it is herewith transcribed by permission as a sample of the items in the *Journal*. This is an entry dated Sunday, August 17, 1862:

At two o'clock I heard that two Virginian soldiers were to be shot for desertion. I hastened to the place of execution and found them surrounded by a crowd of soldiers and accompanied by two Protestant chaplains. I asked one of the so-called ministers if either of the deserters were Catholic. He replied in the negative, but told me that I might speak to them. After a short interview I learned that neither was baptized. Having spoken to them of the necessity of baptism and having questioned them on the necessary points of doctrine I prepared to baptize them at their own earnest request. While I was gone in quest of water, one of these Protestant chaplains, evidently more willing that the souls of these two unfortunates should be damned than that a Catholic priest should do what he had neglected to do, made use of his diabolical eloquence to persuade them not to be baptized. When I returned I found that these men had yielded to the persuasions of their spiritual murderers and, consequently, were indisposed for the reception of the Sacrament. The poor creatures had to go before their God with not only the guilt of their whole lives to account for, but also with their souls stained with original sin. I could not help exclaiming: "O Protestantism! How much hast thou done to offend God, injure man and serve the evil one." Unwilling to witness the execution I returned to camp.

When Stonewall Jackson was sent to capture Harper's Ferry early in the September of 1862 his army after that success was not

far from Frederick. What Father Sheeran was going through at the time he tells us in the entry dated Saturday, September 6, 1862:

I now began to feel an intense gnawing, not so much of conscience as of hunger, for one-half an ear of green corn from the morning of the day before was all that I had eaten. I watched with wistful eye the country mansions and farm houses as I rode past with the best of intentions of inviting myself to their hospitality, but seeing them all surrounded by our poor soldiers who had fallen out of ranks in search of food, I hushed the inward call as long as nature permitted, resolving to wait until our arrival at Frederick, for we were undoubtedly on the Frederick Road. But it is said: "Hunger will break through a stone wall." No wonder it compelled me to break through my resolve. A weak stomach, a sick headache and a fretful horse all admonished me that the men who were seeking breakfast acted the wiser part, and that it would be well for me to follow their example. So off we went for a splendid mansion about half a mile from the road. My horse no doubt anticipated a feast as he set his ears and made for the house with a speed equalled only by his nimbleness in getting out of the way of Yankee shells. The owner of the place was a warm Southerner and consequently received us very kindly. His wife, daughter and servant had been busy all morning with cooking for and waiting on our men and as a result were tired out. Nevertheless, they prepared for me and my orderly a good breakfast with plenty of corn and fodder for my horse. I spent an hour with this very hospitable family, and having paid my bill which was most reluctantly accepted, I started after the army, now considerably ahead.

At noon we arrived at the splendid wire bridge crossing the Monacacy, three miles from Frederick. By this time our brigade had encamped on the banks of the Monacacy at the foot of a steep hill covered with oaks. I resolved to visit Frederick before going to camp. By a common but not very lamentable accident I lost my orderly, or rather he lost himself somewhere near the bridge, so I went on alone. These three miles were spent in rather serious reflections. The surrounding country, the neighboring hills, the distant Blue Ridge were all to me old acquaintances. My numerous trips over the B. & O. from Baltimore to Cumberland, the pleasant scenes of my college days, the once happy condition of our country and its present distracted state all presented themselves to my imagination.²

²Cumberland was a Scholasticate of the Redemptorists at this time.

These were my preoccupations during my brief journey from Monacacy Bridge until I arrived at a tollgate outside of Frederick. Here my meditations were interrupted by a bit of a row. One of our men who had probably drunk more than enough was disputing with a lady at the tollgate. She contended that he had taken bacon for which he had not paid; exclaiming at the same time that she was a Unionist and would not be imposed on by any Confederate. I investigated the matter and found that she was mistaken. I told her that she should not be so uncharitable as to accuse a person of an act of dishonesty without undeniable proofs, and that we would be willing to forgive her if she would give three cheers for Jeff Davis. This she stoutly refused to do. Anyhow we left her in good humor.

The first thing to attract my attention upon entering Frederick was the old barracks now occupied by the Yankees as a hospital. I rode into the yard where I found many of our men. Everywhere there were signs of a hasty retreat on the part of the enemy. It seems that besides some thousands of sick and wounded there were between one and two thousand cavalry and infantry stationed at Frederick. On Friday evening previous to our arrival the Yankees destroyed many valuable stores, burned a quantity of clothing, and then hastily made their escape. We captured, however, a number of prisoners who failed to get away, and many valuable stores besides, such as blankets, coats, boots, shoes, shirts, coffee, sugar, salt, many stands of arms and a quantity of medical supplies which they had not had time to destroy. In taking a view of the barracks' yard I met one of the Sisters of Charity who had charge of the hospital. I dismounted in order to speak to her, but to my great surprise I noticed that she was very much embarrassed. I was not long in finding out the cause of it. I had on a Confederate uniform, and there were several Yankee surgeons and officers watching me closely from the gallery. The poor Sister no doubt feared that she might be accused of giving information to the enemy, or showing sympathy for the rebels. Perceiving this I mounted my horse and unceremoniously cut short our acquaintance, nor did I try to renew it afterwards.

My first object was to find a Catholic church. In riding through the streets I was kindly saluted by many of the citizens. I also met many of my friends from various divisions of the army, all of whom showed me marks of respect. Some of our Louisiana boys came to me to know if I was in need of anything, such as boots, shoes, etc. When I let them know what condition I was in they quickly supplied my wants.

How badly off I was before can be guessed. We left Camp Wheat near Gordonsville on August 16, leaving behind our regimental baggage wagons and all of our clothing except what was in actual use. For three weeks we were steadily marching through dense clouds of dust, or the men were constantly fighting the enemy. I was busy with our wounded and dying. At night when rest was allowed we were lying in our clothes which very soon became soiled. The questions of our boys reminded me that I should put on a clean shirt at least before going into the presence of civilized beings. I entered a Jew's clothing store in company with some of my boys who soon supplied me with a white shirt, handkerchiefs and other useful articles. The storekeeper being apprized of what I was invited me to a room and furnished me with water, soap and towel. O that happy moment! A good wash and a clean shirt were luxuries that I had not enjoyed for over three weeks.

Feeling the importance of my new white and well-starched appendage I made for the house of the Jesuit Fathers by whom I was kindly received. Here I had the pleasure of meeting Father Hubert³ for the first time. He was like myself disguised in Confederate mud. We were soon introduced into the bath house whence we returned much cleaner if not better looking. The good Fathers made us change our clothes and then advance to the refectory where we did justice to all the good things in the edible line with which the table was laden. In the meantime my horse was taken to the stable and I was informed that I could not return to the camp that night. I of course did not insist upon going.

It was now about four P.M. As there were some few hours of daylight left I decided to use them by visiting the city. The streets were crowded with soldiers who came to see or to buy. Many of them had disguised themselves in new shirts and some of them even wore gloves. The barbers were taken by storm and the shops were filled with liberal purchasers. The windows, doors and balconies were packed with ladies who in general showed most enthusiastic feelings. When we entered the town the Federal flag was yet flying from the top of the market house and in a place very difficult of access. Soon our boys tore down the Yankee bunting. While I saw this flag, now the emblem of tyranny and injustice being torn in shreds amid the shouts of thousands, sorrowful reflections came to my mind. A few short years ago that flag was the emblem of our national greatness and to defend it every Southern citizen would have sacrificed his life. Such is the instability of human affairs.

³Father Hubert, S.J., was a noted Confederate Chaplain from New Orleans.

Having seen the greater portion of this beautiful city I returned to the house of the Jesuit Fathers, and having partaken of a good supper, I retired early to rest. I was tired but could not compose my mind agitated by the scenes and reflections of the day. How strangely this night contrasted with those of the preceding five weeks. From the time we left Camp Wheat for Cedar Mountain to our arrival near Frederick scenes of blood, carnage, fatigue, hunger and thirst constantly presented themselves to me. I had seen the worst passions of the human heart displayed under the names of humanity and liberty. But this night I found myself not on the wearying march, not in the tented camp, not on the gory field of battle, not in the hospitals listening to the suppressed moans of bleeding patriots. Oh, no! Once more I find myself within the peaceful walls of a convent. Before me is the image of the crucified Saviour; nearby that of His Immaculate Mother. These and other pious objects recalled to my mind my peaceful cell in New Orleans, and had I wings I would have flown to it to shelter myself at least for a time from the bloody strife desolating our country.

There were more than seven holy sleepers of all grades in the Society who enjoyed their sleep that night in the Frederick novitiate, but none rose from their beds fresher than the Redemptorist Confederate chaplain. A greater delight awaited him in one of the chapels. Who was the Father and Scholastic assisting at Father Sheeran's Mass? Are they alive today? His *War Journal* for Sunday, September 7, 1862, tells us that,

This morning I had the consolation of offering the Holy Sacrifice for the first time in three weeks. As I celebrated in the private chapel of the Novitiate my congregation was very small—one Father and one Scholastic. Since I parted with my regiment the day before without giving notice I was anxious to return to camp to see what the boys were doing. I got to camp about ten o'clock and found my men in the best of spirits, that is, those of them who were there, for many were visiting Frederick. I perceived by the number of men drilling into the stone pillars under the wire bridge over the Monacacy that this beautiful and expensive structure was going to be blown up.

The place where we were now encamped was one of the roughest and most uncomfortable of the campaign. We were on the side of a gravelly hill or mountain whose base forms the bank of the Monacacy. It was impossible to find a space

whereon to repose comfortably for the night. As the sun was about to bid us farewell I was tempted to say good-bye to camp for the night as I had some repugnance for a bed of rocks, but motives of prudence bade me to stay. General orders had been received to permit only a certain number from each regiment to be absent at a time. Seeing the wisdom and need for this order I endeavored to have it enforced. To be consistent I had to remain with my men and to take cheerfully to my gravelly bed. It was useless to attempt to describe the changes of base I made during the night in trying to find softer places. One thing is certain: that night's rest made lasting impressions on my mind and body. Indeed the Monacacy rocks recall to memory souvenirs more fearful than those of the Yankee shells.

The rough time that the Confederate Chaplain had all the night before was the dominant reason why he wanted to get away from the Monacacy rocks and back to the comforts of Frederick. His *Journal* for Monday, September 8, 1862, runs:

Having dispatched a breakfast consisting of solid-shot biscuit, good coffee and beef, Major Zable and I procured a pass and started for Frederick. In passing by the tollgate we met my friend the Union lady who kindly saluted us, gave us a drink and seemed disposed to make atonement for her unkindness of the Saturday before. We found the city in festive uniform. The inhabitants are for the most part warm Southerners. Believing their city was to be occupied permanently by our army the people threw aside all reserve and publicly showed their sympathy for us. The balconies, doorways and windows of public and private houses were crowded with Confederate soldiers. Many of our officers now dressed in clean shirts, new boots and spurs were displaying their riding skill and attracting the attention, if not the laughter, of the fair ones who watched them.

After a ride through the main streets of the city we fetched up at the residence of the Jesuit Fathers. The scene here was a most touching one. The good Father Ward, Master of Novices, was busily occupied in waiting on our poor soldiers who were partaking of the refreshments which he had prepared for them. In fact he had open house for them at all hours during the three days of our sojourn in Frederick. I had the pleasure of meeting the Very Reverend Provincial⁴ and Rev-

⁴It is likely that the business had to do with the procuring of passports for Father Provincial and Father McGuire. The Provincial at this time

erend Father McGuire of Washington, who requested me to procure them a pass to get back to Baltimore. In company with Father McGuire I next visited the convent of the Sisters of the Visitation, a splendid and spacious building directly opposite the Jesuit Novitiate. Here I found that the Sisters had refreshments in plenty for our soldiers, the young ladies of the Academy being occupied from morning to night preparing food and waiting on them. The Sisters received us very kindly, brought us through the various departments of their school and invited us to partake of the refreshments prepared. I was not a little surprised to note the enthusiastic feelings shown by the Sisters for the success of the Confederacy.

Recrossing the street to the Jesuits I met good Father Ward with a dozen or so canteens strung around his neck. "Father," I exclaimed, "in the name of common sense what are you doing with those canteens?" "Well," he replied, "while I was out on the street I met some of your boys inquiring where they could buy some molasses, and believing the poor fellows to be too tired to be hunting around for it I am going down into our cellar to fill up their canteens with molasses." I could not help laughing at the sight of the Jesuit priest with a string of canteens around his neck. Though but a small act of charity it was a noble one.

About eleven o'clock I called on General Lee and General Jackson to transact some business⁵ and returned in time to see the Monacacy bridge destroyed. Unfortunately in the explosion a few bits of iron were blown into the camp of the First Louisiana regiment, killing one man and wounding three more. At sundown our boys in great numbers returned from Frederick to camp and a happier lot of soldiers I never saw. They were now pretty well rested, rations for the past three days had been abundant, and besides, they had procured for themselves many of the good things which the markets of Frederick offered.

When the second Shenandoah Valley campaign was on in the summer of 1864 Father Sheeran was present with his regiment under General Early. The chief whom he idolized, Stonewall Jackson, had "crossed over the river and was resting in the shade" since his tragic death at Chancellorsville. The Chaplain's *War Journal* records the doings of Saturday, July 9, 1864:

was Father Angelus Paresce. Father Bernard McGuire was at this time prefect of the Church at Gonzaga College, Washington.

⁵In the town of Frederick, in a wooded lot called Best's Grove, General Lee had his headquarters on September 7, 1862. Jackson's tent and Longstreet's tent stood near Lee's.

We were up early this morning as we were near Frederick and the enemy under General Lew Wallace. We expected a fight for the place, but while halting in a wood nearby we heard that the Yankees had evacuated the city. About ten o'clock as the head of our column reached the suburbs of Frederick it turned off to the right and crossing some fields came out on the Baltimore pike where they halted. I accompanied our medical train which went into the city. Many who had seen me there two years before recognized me and showed me many signs of friendship. My gray appeared to feel proud of the honors paid to his rider, but wanted to follow the main column. From his prancing and jumping about one would say that he was showing off. Having paid a short visit to the Jesuit Fathers who received me with their usual hospitality I rejoined my men halted on the Baltimore road outside the city. The enemy by this time had fallen back to the south side of the Monacacy and took up their position on the heights commanding the pike. Our cavalry skirmished with them for about half an hour when the Yankee artillery opened up on them with artillery. Ramseur's and Rodes' divisions now advanced from Frederick in a direct line towards the Monacacy threatening the enemy in front, while Gordon and our division take a road to the right and cross a ford at about one and a half miles from the burned bridge on the pike. The Louisiana Brigade commanded by General Evans marching rapidly from the river soon engaged the enemy. When the battle was at its hottest, the Yankees stubbornly disputing every inch of ground, Colonel Cox of Ramseur's Division from the Frederick side of the Monacacy opened up with a battery which enfiladed the enemy and did great damage to them. Now a furious yell is raised, a charge made and soon the shouts of victory are heard resounding from our lines. The Yankees are flying in the direction of Baltimore leaving behind them their dead and wounded, seven hundred prisoners and a large number of small arms. Our wounded were brought back to Frederick and were well cared for at the hospital of the Sisters of Charity. Not knowing that our army was moving on I went to the house of the Jesuit Fathers in order to say Mass the next morning. I made several unsuccessful attempts while in town to buy some articles of clothing. I obtained a summer coat and pair of pants from Father O'Callaghan,⁶ for which I gave him an order on my Father Provincial at Baltimore.

⁶This was the Father Joseph O'Callaghan who was drowned at sea on January 21, 1869. When Father Sheeran met him at Frederick he was Rector of the Novitiate and Master of Novices. Previous to this he had been Rector of Loyola College, Baltimore, an office he assumed on July 25, 1860. On September 4, 1863 he became Rector at Frederick.

What notices the Jesuit Beadles of Juniors and Novices posted on the board of their ascetories while the battle was going on are long since forgotten. For Father Sheeran, however, no sign read "*vacat pugna.*" But at least he has had a good night's sleep in the quiet of the Novitiate. What Sunday, July 10, 1864 brings him he sets down in his *Journal*:

Said Mass this morning at six. After Mass I began to write a letter to Father Provincial but was interrupted by one of the Brothers who informed me that there was some commotion in the town. Not thinking it to be serious I kept on with my letter but was again interrupted by Father O'Callaghan who informed me that our army was moving away from the Monacacy and he had reason to fear that the Yankees were pressing after us and would soon be in town. Still fearing no danger I finished my letter, packed up my things leisurely and chatted with some of the Fathers. Again I was warned that our cavalry was quitting town rapidly and that there appeared to be something astir. My orderly now had our horses ready. Bidding the Fathers good-bye I mounted and rode slowly away. As I passed through the streets everything appeared as still as death. Our men had all disappeared. I called at the hospital, requested the Sisters to take good care of our men and had just mounted my horse when I heard that the Yankee cavalry were entering the city. Thinking I had been long enough in Frederick, and wishing no more acquaintance with the savage defenders of "the best government the world ever saw," I hastened after our men now making rapidly for Washington.

There are no more accounts of visits to Frederick and its Jesuit Novitiate in Father Sheeran's *War Journal*. Judge Corrigan died in New York in 1935. His widow was not a Catholic and there is no available record of what she did with the *War Journal*. The copy made is in the library of the Benedictine Abbey at Belmont, North Carolina and it is to be hoped that it may be published.

CATHOLIC NAVY CHAPLAINS

BY THOMAS F. MEEHAN

UNTIL 1888, although a large proportion of the Service were of the Faith, no Catholic had ever been commissioned a chaplain in the United States Navy. In that year, on April 25, President Cleveland, in response to long continued agitation, appointed as chaplain, the Rev. Charles H. Parks, a priest of the New York archdiocese. In the Navy "sky-pilots" had never been popular, and inherited, intolerant Protestant tradition made the advent of a Catholic priest unwelcome. But the marked influence for the improved morale of the crew after Chaplain Parks began his ministrations among them was so evident that his presence became as desirable as his advent had been resented. All the fleet captains wanted him. He served with constantly increasing favor until January 25, 1900, when, then holding the relative rank of lieutenant, he resigned and returned to parish work. He died as pastor at West Farms, New York, March 11, 1907. An unusual mark of respect was paid him by the Naval authorities, in sending a squad of marines to fire a salute and sound taps at his grave, a ceremony only observed for an officer in the Service.¹

Since then Father Parks has been regarded as the pioneer Catholic chaplain of the Navy, but now, the Rev. Joseph T. Durkin, S.J., of Fordham University has discovered among the Jesuit archives a diary kept by the Rev. Adam Marshall which shows that he had served on the ship of the line *North Carolina*, from December, 1824, until he died on board, September 20, 1825. While his official rank was that of Schoolmaster to the midshipmen, he had also acted as Chaplain to the Catholic sailors. As the *North Carolina* concluded a Mediterranean cruise and headed for home, he succumbed to a fatal weakness of the lungs, the first Catholic priest to hold an office on an American ship of war, a fact that seems to have escaped the meticulous research of Pay Director Furey, himself a staunch Catholic officer of many service years of conspicuous merit, when he made up in 1913

¹Furey, "Some Catholic Names in the United States Navy List," *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. VI, part II, 92.

from official records for RECORDS AND STUDIES, his "Some Catholic Names in the United States Navy List."

Father Marshall was one of the first Georgetown Jesuit novices to join the Society after its restoration in the United States, in 1805. He was one of the "four young masters of our Society" Father Anthony Kohlmann brought with him to New York in 1808, to take charge of the disorganized Catholic community, to be pastor of St. Peter's, the first church and to found a college. When the Literary Institution was established where St. Patrick's Cathedral now stands on Fifth Avenue, Scholastic Marshall taught there for a time, and then went back to Georgetown to be ordained priest by Bishop Neale, June 8, 1811. Returning to New York he assisted at the college and ministered to the Catholics of the suburban district until the Literary Institution was closed and the Jesuits were called back to Georgetown in 1813.²

At Georgetown he taught poetry 1814-15, and mathematics 1820, and ministered in the Maryland missions. In 1821 the Visitor, Father Peter Kenney, who had been sent by the General to set the restored American Jesuit Mission in proper operation, much to his dismay appointed him Procurator of the Mission. In this office, the disposal of the New York and Philadelphia property of the Society gave him much worry, as he wrote to the Father General.³ His health was poor and it was with a desire for its improvement that he took the appointment of Schoolmaster for the sailors of the *North Carolina* then about to sail on a significant voyage to Europe.

Father Mark J. Smith, S.J., who has compiled so much of the valuable historical details about the Conewago, Pennsylvania, pioneer parish, says that Adam Marshall, was born there, November 18, 1785. His first cousin, Joseph Marshall, a Jesuit Coadjutor Brother, sometimes erroneously listed as his brother, was born there also, May 10, 1788 and died at Georgetown, February 21, 1858.

There was a pioneer German named Marshall, and another a

²Ryan, *Old St. Peter's*, p. 106.

³Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Vol. I, p. 357, quoted in RECORDS AND STUDIES, Vol. XXX.

⁴RECORDS AND STUDIES, Vol. IV, p. 335.

Frenchman named Maréchal, both Catholics and both settled within the parish limits of Conewago. In time their identity was lost so that even in legal documents, deeds, etc., the names were spelled the same way, and by intermarriage as generations passed they became typically only American, and for all practical purposes nationally undistinguishable. Father Smith, himself is a distant connection of the Marshall family.

Father Durkin has gone through the *Marshall Diary*, and what follows here are the interesting spots he picked out for a contribution he gave to *America* (September 13, 1941) and in which he wrote:

A year before, there had been issued by the American Government the momentous declaration which became later known as the Monroe Doctrine. It may not be too rash to surmise that this cruise of a great American battleship through European waters was a delicate hint to the Old World powers that the young Republic could support her separatist policy, if necessary, by more than words.

Father Marshall's diary of his voyage provides a vivid picture of life on an American fighting ship twelve years after the War of 1812, throws some important new light on American attitudes toward Europeans at that time, and presents some interesting comparisons between American and European culture.

The *North Carolina*, Father Marshall tells us, measured 180 or 186 feet in her keel and 230 feet on her deck. She carried 102 guns, including several 42-pounders, and a crew of about a thousand.

The Schoolmaster boarded the ship as she lay off Norfolk, in early December, 1824. He busied himself in assembling the necessary materials for his school—he speaks of purchasing thirty slates and 100 pencils—and in arranging with the Commodore the schedule to be followed by his pupils. It is significant that the American Navy even at this early period of its growth, was taking an enlightened interest in the general education of its sailors. The officers, attests Father Marshall, showed him every courtesy, and some of them proved their interest in his work by offering him the use of their own quarters as classrooms. There is, of course, another deduction that might be drawn from the facts: the literacy level of the average seaman of the times could not have been very high, since their teacher was to concentrate mainly on the three R's.

Father Marshall had his quarters or mess with three surgeon's mates and the Episcopalian chaplain, "all very correct and genteel men." He anticipated "much satisfaction in the company of all my messmates," and, happily, he was not disappointed. One of the pleasant features of the *Diary* is its unvarying praise of the character of the American naval officer. Most of the latter were non-Catholics, but they seem to have gone out of their way to make the Catholic priest feel at home. Particularly between Father Marshall and the Episcopalian clergyman there sprang up a warm friendship, and we find the two of them taking a picnic on shore together on the eve of departure.

Inconveniences, of course, were inevitable. The steward, seeking for mess-servers, gives a hint of the character of the lower-class human material on board:

"[The steward] told us that he had requested one of the boatswain's mates to look out for two boys for us, and that the mate told him that he knew one who he could get and whom he knew to be the greatest Rascal on board. He added that that was the proper qualification to judge by; supposing, I presume, that if a waiter is known to be a Rogue, he will not be trusted at all, and of course, he can do no harm, whereas you might perhaps trust another and be deceived."

There was also the problem of the messmates' mutual adaptation to each other's preferences. In arranging the menu of the mess, Father Marshall urged that a large prominence be awarded to sauerkraut. But the surgeon's mates are insensible to the charms of the dish, and prefer a "very inferior kind of cheese." This, as the Jesuit justly observes, "presents an instance of how many repulsive points are created in men's characters by the habits of education." But he graciously yields to his companions.

While awaiting departure, the officers beguile the time with a ball. Father Marshall is favorably impressed with the manner in which it is conducted. The ladies came on board early in the evening and left at nine o'clock! "The idea," says the *Diary*, "that a Man of War is a place of unbridled [*sic*] debauchery is totally incorrect, at least as regards this ship. When ladies of respectability come on board it is always by special invitation, and they are accompanied by officers and treated with the greatest respect."

All, however, is not play on board the big ship. The process of taking on board her store of gun powder is a very delicate and dangerous one. The stairways and passages are shrouded with burlap bags and mattresses, to prevent any

jolting of the barrels as they are rolled into the hold. The crew stand at their stations from nine in the morning until four in the afternoon, with no lunch, since it is forbidden to light the galley fires during the loading.

The claims of religion were fully respected by the Navy. On December 19 Father Marshall witnessed public worship on board. Both officers and men, he reports, evinced much attention and respect. The Episcopalian chaplain had his station on the starboard poop, with a table before him. The whole service lasted about an hour and a quarter. During the whole time all were on their feet with heads uncovered. The sermon was "well delivered, well composed, and instructive in its morality, contained no controversy, and it and the prayer might have been pronounced with propriety by a Catholic priest."

In those days, it would appear, one of the chief problems of navigation was how to get the ship started. On Christmas Eve, 1824, the *North Carolina* weighed anchor, but it took her eight days to cover the distance from Norfolk harbor to Hampton Roads, due to the fact that every second day she got stuck on a sand bar and another day was required before she could be worked free. The entry in the *Diary* on Christmas Day is typical: "Last night there was another effort made to get the ship off, but to no purpose. After much labor she was again got afloat . . . and immediately swong [*sic*] round with her head towards Norfolk. When the tide left her she again lay in the mud. . . ."

Finally, however, they reached the open sea, and the routine of the voyage began. The plan was, apparently, to beat up the coast for a few weeks, with periodical stops, then to cross the Atlantic.

The *Diary* gives many *genre* pictures of life on board. The daily perils of the seaman's work are evidenced by such laconic notations as these: "February 8th: This evening a man fell from the foreyard onto the deck and expired in a few minutes"; "February 10th: A man today got his nose knocked off. . . ." The priest admires greatly the efficient management of the ship by her officers. Order, cleanliness, and good administration reigns everywhere, and Father Marshall does not hesitate to affirm with pride that the *North Carolina* is the match of any battleship on the seas.

The seaman of those days required firm handling, and discipline on board was maintained with rigor. Father Marshall witnessed with interest his first court martial. All the officers were ranged on deck with their side arms, the marines being on the poop deck with their muskets and bayonets.

The prisoners, about fifteen or twenty of them, were arraigned on the gangway with a guard of marines around them. The Commodore and a committee of his officers examined the accused, heard the charges and the defence and decided on acquittal or punishment. The crimes were generally theft, neglect of duty, fighting, or insubordination. Four culprits were whipped, receiving one dozen stripes each. Two sailors who were convicted of fighting were furnished with whips and made to continue their strife in the presence of the court. They set to work on each other with considerable spirit in the beginning, but their ardor soon cooled, and they had to be forced to continue, amid the laughs and catcalls of their shipmates:

"Two others on whom theft was proved, afforded a greater amusement to their shipmates. The Commodore ordered a Mess to be established, to be designated . . . the Rogues Mess. The most guilty of the above two is to be head of it, and as a mark of his distinction is to wear a cap of a peculiar form and peculiar ornaments. The other thief was convicted of having stolen a hog's foot. The Com. ordered a hog's foot to be brought and hung around his neck. Both were then ordered to take their station on the boats a-mid-ships for a certain number of days, the former with his cap, the latter with his hog's foot around his neck. . . ."

After a five weeks' crossing, the *North Carolina* anchored opposite Gibraltar. A boatload of Spanish officials came on board to confer with the Commodore, and one of the most significant passages of the *Diary* describes the feelings of the Americans on this first encounter with the unfamiliar culture of Spain. Typically, the Yankee officers are at first impressed unfavorably by the Spaniards, who appear to lack neatness of appearance and polish of manner, but this initial reaction changes on better acquaintance, to respect and liking for a people and civilization which, Father Marshall admits, may have some superiority over our own.

The priest, with an explorer's instinct, took a trip through the elaborate subterranean fortifications of the Rock. He was pleasantly surprised at the flourishing condition of the small farms in the suburbs of Spanish Algeciras. Perhaps the most valuable portion of the *Diary* is its detailed examination of the way of life of the Spaniards in the district around Gibraltar. From the social, religious, and intellectual standpoint, we are given some extremely significant information concerning Spain of the Bourbon Restoration.

The *North Carolina* proceeded East. On touching at Naples, Father Marshall was introduced to the still surviving

Joachim Murat, "a man looking very old, with a very long white beard." Off Tunis he meets a Turkish Dragoman, who says that the affairs of the Turks in the Greek Revolution are going badly, for "the Turks cut off the heads of all the generals who lose battles, and the consequence is that no one will undertake to be a general."

The *Diary* ends rather suddenly, for the reason already noted. Its final entry is made not by Father Marshall but by the Lieutenant of the Watch:

"Extract from the Log Book of the U. S. Ship of the line the *North Carolina*, Comm. John Rodgers: Tuesday, Sept. 20, 1825. . . . At 2.30 A.M. the Revd. Adam Marshall, Schoolmaster, departed this life. . . . At 10 A.M. called all hands to bury the dead, and committed the body of the Revd. Adam Marshall, Schoolmaster, to the deep."

Thus ends Father Durkin's comments. Most Federal appointments in those days, as now, went by favor, and the curious might wonder how it was that this young Jesuit got his commission in the Navy at a time when the Washington Community was not numerous or relatively influential. Here a rather interesting angle develops. His "influence" probably was Daniel Tompkins, Vice President of the United States in the James Monroe administrations. When Father Kohlmann opened the New York Literary Institution Daniel Tompkins was Governor of the State, and he sent his son there as one of the pupils. Father Kohlmann writing in November 1810, to his friend Father Strickland in England said:

Our college thanks to God is in a very prosperous way. In the space of about eight months we received thirty-six pupils, that is as many as the house can possibly admit, among whom are the son of the late Governor Livingston, and the son of the present Governor Tompkins who are both very willing to support with their credit the petition of a lottery we are about to present to the legislature.

Lotteries were the recognized method of raising funds. It was by one that Columbia University obtained the valuable property then known as the "Elgin Botanical Garden," which it still owns—the Fifth Avenue Radio City of today. Father Kohlmann's lottery never materialized. Vice President Tompkins, of course, remembered his old friends, his son's teachers at the New York Literary Institution, and no doubt Father Marshall's desire to enter the Navy found in him, a potential backer.

A NATIONAL BROWNSON MEMORIAL

BY M. F. THOMAS

WHEN at the instigation of the ever practical and indefatigable President of Fordham University, the Very Rev. Robert I. Gannon, S.J., the bronze memorial bust of the great Catholic philosopher and essayist, Orestes A. Brownson, was transferred by the New York civic authorities, on June 1, 1941, from its somewhat neglected site on the Riverside Drive, in all that was said and written about this National Brownson Memorial due credit was not given to M. J. Harson, of Providence, R. I., who first suggested it, and spent several years of toil, and often discouraging effort, in bringing it to ultimate success. After a course in Brown University, Harson was very active as the National Secretary of the Catholic Young Men's National Union of America, an organization begun in 1865 as an offset to the menacing proselytizing energies of the Young Men's Christian Association. He went to the first National lay Congress, at Baltimore, Md., November 11 and 12, 1889 as one of the three delegates from Rhode Island, and served on the Committee on Papers with Henry Brownson of Detroit, and Peter L. Foy of St. Louis.¹ It may have been this association with Henry Brownson that gave him the Memorial idea, and he came back from the Congress filled with the most ambitious hopes for it. He organized a National Committee to collect the necessary funds, and, as he went about the country in the interest of the Young Men's Union he also kept advocating the Memorial project. The financial response was slow. It was not until several years had elapsed, that a total warranted giving a commission to Samuel J. Kitson to cast in bronze, from his accepted model, what was then the largest portrait bust in the United States.

Next there was a long drawn out discussion with the New York City authorities about where it should be located. Local interest waned, and the bust was placed in the foyer of the now torn down Catholic Club in West Fifty-ninth Street where, unwept, un-

¹Cf. *Official Report Proceedings of the Catholic Congress, Baltimore, Md., November 11, 12, 1880.* Detroit, 1880.

honored, and unsung it stood for another lapse of years, until with a new spasm of local interest the Park Department consented in 1910 to have it placed at 104th Street and the Riverside Drive. Brownson's granddaughter, Mrs. T. H. Odiome, unveiled it there at a ceremony, with Archbishop Farley presiding and W. Bourke Cockran making the dedication address.² In solitary dignity it lapsed again into indifference of public appreciation until, one night in 1939 some hoodlum vandals, in a rowdy lark, upset it from its pedestal into the roadway whence it was taken off to the municipal storage yard after some semi-jocose press comments over the manifest general ignorance of the identity of the original of the memorial, and why he should thus be honored. Once more it took some time before the President of Fordham, Father Gannon, having asked Mayor LaGuardia to authorize the Park Department of New York, to transfer the Memorial from the Drive to the more congenial and appropriate Fordham Campus, received the laconic reply: "You can have Orestes." With the coöperation of the Catholic Club the transfer at once was made with fitting ceremony, and the Brownson bust installed near the statue of the great Archbishop John Hughes, some times his admonitor, but ever to his faults a little blind and to his virtues very kind.

The amelioration of the social and economic, the moral and intellectual conditions of the working classes is one of the popular agitations of the day. Sad to say, there are few of those who attended the Fordham ceremony; or who are students at the increasing number of Catholic schools of labor, know that Brownson was one of the earliest of those foremost in advocating reforms and improvements in the industrial world. A century ago he was urging with voice and pen most of the arguments for these changes that the orators of today are expounding as new and original.

In 1827 there were no sewing machines, but the sewing women, seamstresses, were so ruthlessly exploited as machines in what we would now call "sweat shops," that the famous Philadelphia publisher and publicist Mathew Carey wrote a series of such indignant letters calling for reform, that a political organization called the Workingmen's Party followed.³ Later a branch, which Brownson joined was organized in New York, but as its management fell

²*Catholic News*, May 17, 1941.

³Henry Brownson, *Brownson's Early Life*, 45 sq. Detroit 1898.

into radical hands he left it. He had then a sort of roving commission as a Presbyterian minister in the Saratoga section of New York, but tiring of it he wandered back to New England and professed himself a Universalist then a Unitarian preaching according to his interpretations of the doctrinal beliefs of these sects keeping up and expressing all the while his zeal for reforms for the amelioration of industrial conditions for the working classes. He wrote for the Workingmen's Association of Charlestown, Mass.

An Address of the Workingmen of Charlestown, Mass., to their Brethren throughout the Commonwealth and the Union, a pamphlet of eighteen pages in which he said:⁴

Brethren the time seems to have arrived when we the real workingmen of the country should pause and survey our condition, ascertain our state, what are our rights and the means of securing their full enjoyment.

We are in this country, as in all others, the great majority of the population. We are the real producers. By our toil and sweat, skill and industry is produced all the wealth of the community. We have felled the primeval forests of this Western world converting them into fruitful fields, and planted the rose in the wilderness. We have erected these cities and villages which smile where lately was the Indian's wigwam or the lair of the wild beast. We have called into existence American manufacturers, and been the instruments by which commerce has amassed her treasures; our labor has dugged the canals, and constructed the railways which are intersecting the country in all directions and opening its resources.

We have built and manned the ships which navigate every ocean and furnish the houses of the rich with all their comforts and luxuries. Our labor has done it all. And yet what is our condition? We toil on from morning until night, from one year's end to another, increasing our exertions with each year, and with each day, still we are poor and dependent. Here, as everywhere else, they who pocket the proceeds of our labor look upon us as the lower class and term us the mob. We are but laborers, operatives, vulgar workmen. We are poor. Our wages barely suffice to procure us the necessities of life. We rarely have either leisure or opportunity to cultivate our minds, or to acquire that general knowledge of men and things which no human being should grow up without. We are doomed by our position to grow up ignorant, and often in total neglect of all our nobler endowments. Our rights and interests attract no general attention. Legislators have no leisure to

⁴Brownson, *op. cit.*, 281.

attend to our wants. And politicians have no further concern with us than to wheedle us out of our votes by fair speeches and vague promises.

The great concern is to take care of the rich and the prosperous, the educated and powerful, of those who fill the high places of society, ride in carriages, sit on cushioned seats, and feast their dainty palates on luxuries culled from every clime. The wants of these are urgent. Their rights, privileges and interests will brook no delay. But we who bear all the burdens of society, pay all the revenues of the Government, and the incomes of the rich, why we may go our way till a more convenient season.

Then an article he published in the *Boston Quarterly Review* for July 1840 on "The Laboring Classes" brought about the charge that he advocated the most wanton tenets of the European Socialists. The Whig leaders in the national politics of the day, circulated it as what might be expected from their Democratic opponents if they won at the coming election, and it was supposed to have cost Martin Van Buren his nomination for a second term as President. Brownson silenced the clamors of his critics in the following issue of the *Quarterly Review* by a vigorous defence of what his views really were.⁵ He regained all his former prestige and continued his demands for industrial reforms. In 1844 he became a Catholic, and there is no need or space here to follow his splendid career after this as an international exponent of Catholic thought until his death at Detroit, April 17, 1876.

"Brownson," said his son, "had never pretended and did not now pretend to be able to point out any specific remedy for the social evils to which he called attention or to show how they might be prevented. His main purpose was to arrest the attention of the community and to engage the minds of those who gave tone to thought and direction to affairs, in the serious and earnest consideration of the subject."⁶

Unfortunately the twenty volumes of Brownson's invaluable works have long been out of print. It would be of great service now if some one would cull from them a handy manual of such quotations as would be pertinent to the present sociological and economic issues.

⁵*Defence of the Article on the Laboring Classes.* Boston 1840.

⁶*Brownson's Early Life*, 291.

ECHOES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

BY J. M. BUTLER

DURING the various conflicts in which the armed forces of the United States have been engaged the Government has never kept any records of the religious affiliations of those enlisted in the several branches of the service. In organizing for the National Defense in the second World War the War Department approved an arrangement whereby at the time of enlistment or induction into service, a notation might be made on the service record showing the religious preference of the soldier. A tabulation of these estimated percentages was released in September 1941 by the Department. The necessary revision and analysis pertinent thereto was begun when the Army had passed the million mark, in the belief that this large figure would furnish sufficient cross sections to give value to the estimates reported.

For the entire Army the percentages up to that date (August, 1941) were: Protestant, 58.9140; Catholic, 30.8915; Jewish, 1.9390; no denomination, 8.2555, and interesting sidelights are revealed by the details of these figures. In the Army Corps Area, which comprises the New England States and New Jersey, New York and Delaware respectively, about 50 per cent of the men were listed as Catholics, about 40 per cent as Protestants about 5 per cent Jewish and about 2 per cent no denomination.

In the areas which cover the Southern States, some of the Middle Eastern and Southwest and Farwest coast States, there was about on an average of 65 per cent Protestant, 22 per cent Catholics and an increasingly large percentage of men professing affiliation with no denomination.

The strength of the United States Army on August 14, 1941, was estimated at 1,545,400 officers and enlisted men. They are divided as follows: Officers, Regular Army: 15,000, National Guard: 21,900, reserve officers: 65,000, total 101,900; enlisted men: Regular Army (3 years): 484,500, Regular Army reserve: 17,500, National Guard in Federal service: 262,000, selective service trainees: 681,500, total: 1,443,500; the total combined strength: Regular Army: 517,000, National Guard: 281,900, reserve officers: 65,000, selective service trainees: 681,500, total: 1,545,400.

The number of Chaplains, on August 12, 1941 was 1,449; or 136 Regular Army, 312 National Guard, and 1,001 Reserve and distributed by denominations as follows:

	Regular Army	National Guard	Reserve	Total
Protestant	101	212	755	1,068
Catholic	35	100	227	362
Jewish	0	0	19	19
Total	136	312	1,001	1,449

The number of Catholic chaplains was being constantly increased as priests volunteered and were assigned by their Bishops and accepted for commissions by Bishop O'Hara, Military Delegate of the Army and Navy Ordinate. The War Department appropriated \$12,816,880 to build a chapel for each regiment in the service, for all soldiers of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths designed to look like the typical small church found in every American community. The construction cost for each chapel was to be \$21,220. They were to have seats for 400 soldiers and each chapel equipped with an electric organ. Of the 604 chapels, 545 were for ground troops and fifty-nine for the Air Corps.

There is a notable contrast in all this to the situation when war with Germany was declared in April 1917. In the mobilized army, Regulars and National Guards, there were then some 300,000 troops. There were only sixteen Catholic chaplains for the Regulars and nine for the National Guard.¹ A threefold increase of the regiments soon followed but without any provision for a corresponding increase of chaplains, so that, as the situation stood, there would be only one chaplain for every 3,500 men.

Vigorous protests brought about a recognition by the War Department that there had to be a change in this arrangement and the Government issued a call for volunteers of chaplains of all denominations, who were to be assigned on a quota basis according to current religious propulation statistics. In this our *Catholic Directory* totals, conflicting with those compiled by non-Catholic census officials, occasioned some controversy which, how-

¹Waring, Rt. Rev. George J. *United States Catholic Chaplains in the World War*. New York, 1924.

ever was smoothed over. After a conference in Washington a Catholic quota of 37.8 per cent of the formally commissioned chaplains was allowed, which continued until 1920, when it was reduced to 25 per cent. With the continued increase of the forces this number of commissioned chaplains did not suffice, so the deficiency: was made up by volunteer priests whose support was provided by the War Maintenance Committee of the Knights of Columbus, or by the men in the regiments served. When the Armistice was signed, November 11, 1918, there were 1,026 Catholic chaplains in active service, and 500 more volunteers waiting to be called.²

The question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction also made complications during the progress of this organization and to solve them Pope Benedict XV, on November 24, 1917, appointed Auxiliary Bishop P. J. Hayes of New York, *Episcopus Castrensis* (Camp Bishop) with spiritual authority over all the Catholic chaplains of the armed forces of the United States. The Government offered to give him an appropriate military rank and commission but he declined to accept it. He assumed active control in January 1918, and appointed as his Chancellor and Vicar the Rev. Dr. George J. Waring, pastor of St. Ann's Church, New York, who had served as a chaplain in the Regular Army, 1905-1920 when he retired with the rank of major. Chancellor Waring had the assistance of five regional vicars general and with these, the later Cardinal Hayes carried on the details of the Camp Diocese until his death.³

His successor (May 23, 1939) in the New York See, Archbishop F. J. Spellman, was also appointed by the Pope (December 10, 1939) *Episcopus Castrensis*. The President of Notre Dame University the Rev. John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., was named Bishop of Milasa and his Auxiliary for the Camp Diocese, and he immediately took over the administration of the active duties of that important office.

By virtue of the seniority of his commission in the Regular Army, the Chief Chaplain of the Chaplains of all denominations is the Very Rev. Monsignor William Richard Arnold, who now ranks as a colonel. He was commissioned as a first lieutenant

²Williams, Michael, *American Catholics in the War*. New York, 1921.

³Waring, *op. cit.*

chaplain, April 8, 1913. He is affiliated to the Diocese of Fort Wayne, Indiana, was ordained priest June 13, 1908, and appointed a Papal Chamberlain, October 8, 1938.

As has been stated in the opening of this paper the government did not make any record of the religious affiliations of those serving in its armed forces, therefore after the World War the National Catholic Welfare Conference set up at Washington, a Bureau of Historical Records by which to make a tabulation, diocese by diocese, of Catholic work and the records of Catholics in the forces of the United States during the World War. With generous courtesy the head of the Bureau has made out (September, 1941) for this paper, the following statistics:

The total forces of the United States (4,743,841) considered with the Catholic percentage of population (16.94%) would place the quota of Catholics in the forces at 803,606

793,539 is a proper quota on the basis of troops from the 48 States and District of Columbia, i.e., excluding forces from possessions and Territories.

Available World War records of Catholics registered in the N. C. W. C. Bureau of Historical Records now total 804,569

Basic Consideration—Population of the United States, July 1, 1918 (U. S. Bureau of Census estimate) 103,587,955

Catholic Population in 1918 (Catholic Directory, 1919) 17,549,324

Catholic population percentage 16.94%

Forces of the United States—(Individuals in service 1917-1918):

Army 4,057,101

Navy 599,067

Marine Corps 78,839

U. S. Coast Guard 8,834

Total Forces 4,743,841

World War Death Casualties—Total American

World War Deaths during hostilities 130,769

Army—Killed in action and died of wounds 50,546

Navy—Killed in action and died of wounds 436

Died of disease and other causes 6,898

<i>Marine Corps</i> —Killed in action and died of wounds	2,461
Died of disease and other causes	823
<i>Coast Guard</i> —Killed in action	111
Died of disease and other causes	84
Total	130,769
Death Casualties noted to date (November 1918) among Catholic records	22,552
<i>Disposition of Catholic Overseas War Dead:</i>	
In known graves overseas	4,812
Bodies returned to the United States	6,845
Bodies "Unlocated"	426
Bodies buried or lost at sea	232
Bodies shipped to other countries	123
Total	12,438
Domestic death and incompleted cases	10,114
Total	22,552

The answers to the questionnaires the N. C. W. C. Bureau sent out were not, as is often the case in such efforts, as complete as should be, if those from whom the facts were expected, realized the importance and value of such information. However the various dioceses reported as follows, the first figure, the number enlisted on land and sea, the second figure the number who made the supreme sacrifice.

Baltimore, 12,857 and 343; Boston, 46,350 and 1,633; Chicago, 58,305 and 934; Cincinnati, 9,177 and 487; Dubuque, 5,831 and 194; Milwaukee, 13,001 and 432; New Orleans, 19,441 and 290; New York, 64,660 and 1,310; Oregon, 3,556 and 31; Philadelphia, 30,885 and 1,241; St. Louis, 20,604 and 359; St. Paul, 14,045 and 319; San Francisco, 16,855 and 193; Santa Fe, 5,904 and 83; Albany, 19,248 and 484; Alexandria, 1,812 and 69; Alton, Ill., 4,769 and 102; Altoona, 5,525 and 201; Baker City, 370 and 13; Belleville, 3,607 and 105; Boise, 1,033 and 25; Brooklyn, 39,060 and 122; Columbus, 4,544 and 213; Concordia, 1,792 and 61; Corpus Christi, 2,279 and 69; Covington, 2,337 and 73; Crookston, 1,352 and 15; Dallas, 1,626 and 16; Davenport, 2,828 and 88; Denver, 5,580 and 122; Des Moines, 1,898 and 53; Detroit, 18,552 and 354; El Paso, 4,563 and 19; Duluth, 3,260 and 75; Fall River, 6,614 and 192; Fargo, 3,317 and 110, Fort Wayne, 6,202 and

167; Galveston, 3,732 and 86; Grand Rapids, 6,960 and 212; Grand Island, 933 and 30; Great Falls, 2,746 and 53; Green Bay, 7,567 and 74; Harrisburg, 3,698 and 139; Hartford, 26,451 and 845; Helena, 6,165 and 55.

Indianapolis, 6,754 and 194; Kansas City, 3,388 and 64; La Crosse, 5,629 and 217; Lafayette, 6,867 and 124; Mobile, 1,757 and 49; Monterey and Los Angeles, 9,139 and 122; Nashville, 1,197 and 30; Natchez, 1,411 and 32; Newark, 24,769 and 1,098; Ogdensburg, 4,807 and 138; Oklahoma City, 2,252 and 46; Lead, 1,385 and 11; Leavenworth, 3,035 and 95; Lincoln 1,602 and 41; Little Rock, 1,048 and 16; Louisville, 4,520 and 68; Manchester, 5,655 and 217; Marquette, 4,800 and 122; Seattle, 3,880 and 47; Sioux City, 3,182 and 131; Spokane, 1,253 and 23; Springfield, 19,281 and 602; Superior, 2,568 and 87; Syracuse, 7,956 and 109; Toledo, 5,110 and 155; Trenton, 9,337 and 285; Tucson, 2,175 and 23; Wheeling, 2,760 and 71; Wichita, 1,921 and 71; Wilmington, 1,169 and 27; Winona, 3,691 and 58; North Carolina, 455 and 6, Rockford, 3,066 and 166; Sacramento, 2,646 and 38; St. Augustine, 2,336 and 21; St. Cloud, 3,323 and 116; St. Joseph, 2,081 and 39; Salt Lake City, 796 and 17; San Antonio, 7,024 and 88; Savannah, 979 and 51; Scranton, 11,745 and 498; Omaha, 3,423 and 74; Pittsburgh, 24,360 and 955; Portland, 6,323 and 176; Providence, 12,870 and 372; Richmond, 1,950 and 68, and Rochester, 8,486 and 220.

Other notable facts prepared for the Historical Records of the Bureau by Thomas E. Kissling of its staff include these interesting individual references:

John I. Eopolucci, United States Navy, a Catholic of Washington, D. C., was the first man to die in the service of the United States in the War. Lieutenant Louis J. Genella, a Louisiana Catholic was the first to be wounded in the Army personnel. Private Thomas F. Enright, a Pittsburgh Catholic was one of the first three enlisted men killed on the lines, November 3, 1917. The first officer of the Army killed was Lieut. William T. Fitzsimmons, a Knight of Columbus of Kansas City, Mo. The last officer killed in action was a Massachusetts priest, First Lieutenant Chaplain Father William F. Davitt of the 125th Infantry, Second Division. Just before the Armistice was declared a German shell fell in the rear of the regimental headquarters where he was ministering among the men and he was killed instantly.

Second Lieutenant Luke Frank, Jr., a Catholic of Phoenix,

Arizona, 27th Aero Squadron, Air Service, killed in action, was awarded posthumously the Congressional Medal of Honor the only airman to win this distinction. He shot down fourteen enemy balloons and four planes in thirteen days.

The first shot in the War was fired by Sergeant Alex L. Arch of Battery C, Field Artillery, on October 23, 1917, a member of St. Peter's Church, South Bend, Ind. A Chicago Catholic, Lieut. William D. Meyering of the 23rd Infantry received on May 30, 1918, the First Distinguished Service Cross awarded by the United States for heroism in the war. The only man to receive all three American Army decorations for services rendered during the period of the War was Colonel William J. Donovan, of the old New York Sixty-Ninth Regiment, 165th Infantry A. E. F., and a Catholic citizen of Buffalo, New York.

The first award of the United States Navy Cross for heroism in the War was to a Catholic sailor, Patrick McGunigal. The only Filipino to sacrifice his life in the A. E. F. was Thomas Claudio, a Catholic. The ranking officer of the United States Navy in the War, and naval advisor at the Peace Conference was Admiral William S. Benson. Another Catholic, General James A. McAndrew was Chief of Staff of the American Expeditionary Forces, and General Hugh A. Drum was Chief of General Pershing's Staff.

The first nurse wounded in the A. E. F. and the first woman to receive the U. S. Distinguished Service Cross was Beatrice M. MacDonald.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE IRELAND FAMILY

In the records of the progress of the Church in the West the name of John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, Minnesota (1888-1918) stands preeminent. There were other members of the Ireland family who were constantly and most efficiently active in promoting the good work but eclipsed by the shadow of a great name their successful efforts have not been adequately recognized. In a contribution to the *St. Paul Catholic Bulletin* (July 19, 1941), the Right Rev. Mgr. James C. Byrne gave some interesting details of the family, beginning with the Archbishop's sister, Mother St. John, of the Sisters of St. Joseph, "an able, sincere, guileless woman, who, in ceaseless toil, laid well the foundations of Catholic higher education in Minneapolis," and died December 19, 1897. He then goes on to say :

I was only a few days at work with Bishop McGolrick when the Rev. James Howard, D.D., passed through St. Paul on his way to Alton, Illinois. He was the nephew of Bishop Ireland. His parents had lived for a while at Alton and he had been adopted by Bishop Ryan and had studied for that diocese. He built the Church of St. Agnes in Springfield, and was greatly interested in the welfare of orphans. There was no more saintly priest in the United States. At his funeral his Bishop called him a saint. He had a couple of customs which were peculiar to himself. Once a week equipped with a large bottle of Holy Water, he spent a day in the cemetery visiting the graves of his old friends praying for them and blessing their graves. Another custom of his was to get somehow to the bedside of a dying person, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or non-Catholic and give the dying person conditional absolution.

Dr. Howard had been a student of the American College in Rome and had been for four years a classmate of mine. The American College students in those days heard the lectures on Philosophy and Theology in the halls of the College of Propaganda. As they needed an extra Mass in the American College, he was ordained a year ahead of his class. He was born in St. Paul, and as far as I know, he was the first native Minnesotan to be elevated to the priesthood.

I believe that I was the first to be ordained for St. Paul. The older priests were born elsewhere, Fathers Ireland and

McGolrick in Ireland, Fathers Trobec and Plut in Austria, Father Cotter in Liverpool, Father O'Gorman in Massachusetts, Father Shanley in New York, and so on.

Mother Celestine was Dr. Howard's aunt. She built St. Agatha's Conservatory. She died on June 21, 1915.

I had met Sister Seraphine, another sister of Bishop Ireland, several times. She was made Mother Provincial in 1883 and held the office for many, many years. She had a pleasing open countenance, and an engaging personality and was so influential with young women that it was said that she brought into the order of St. Joseph in this province more than one half its postulants. I got to know her better at the time of the sickness and death of her father. There was a hurry up call one afternoon to the Cathedral rectory. As none of the priests of the parish was in, I had to attend to it. It came from Mr. Richard Ireland. The old gentleman had hurried up the stairs to the *Chronicle* office but when he arrived at the landing, he was seized with a spasm about the heart. He was brought home in a state of collapse and although conscious to the end he lived only two weeks. I administered the last Sacraments to him. He had followed his son into the Temperance Movement and was a venerable figure at the Temperance rallies.

Mother Seraphine's former secretary, Sister Digna, spoke on her death bed of that veneration and love which Mother Seraphine had for the Blessed Sacrament. In this respect she was like her brother who continuously inculcated devotion to Our Lord in the Eucharist. It was in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament that he found a refuge in his trials. When all was quiet at night in St. Joseph's Academy, Mother Seraphine was wont to take her secretary for a nocturnal visit to the chapel. There she prayed oftentimes 'til twelve o'clock, going from place to place down the chapel and only by degrees tearing herself away and bidding a fond good night to the solitary Dweller in the Tabernacle.

Mother Seraphine was a great comfort to Archbishop Ireland in his last sickness. While he was in the city, she visited him every day. The great prelate had turned away entirely from secular affairs and devoted his last days to the things of the spirit. The conversation of the brother and sister must have resembled that of Benedict and Scholastica. At any rate Mother Seraphine avowed that she had never known her brother before, such were the lofty views which he developed, the enchanting vistas of God's unfailing Providence amidst the wreck and ruin of the plans of men.

The Archbishop passed away the morning of September 25, 1918. The French government had given orders that the

news of his passing should take precedence over all other cables. It was the last tribute of France to one who had loved France dearly.

On the day Mother Seraphine followed her brother down the Dark Valley, I met Mgr. Kirby who was giving the priests' retreat in St. Paul's seminary.

"I have just heard," he said "that Mother Seraphine, the last of the Ireland family has died. They made a large chapter in the history of the Catholic Church in America." Mother Seraphine passed away on June 20, 1930.

OUR FIRST CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

The question, whether Georgetown or St. Louis was the first Catholic University in the United States, occasioned an interesting controversy in the issues of *America* for July 26, August 30, and September 6, 1941. In that of August 30 a spokesman for St. Louis wrote :

St. Louis was first (*a*) by legal title and (*b*) in reality.

By Legal Title. The legislature of the State of Missouri on December 8 (blessed day!), 1832, voted favorably on an Act that granted St. Louis College the style and title "St. Louis University." The Governor signed the Act and it was engrossed in Missouri's Laws on December 28, 1832, from that date through the intervening 109 years, the seal and every catalog and every official document of this school has carried conspicuously this title "St. Louis University." Years passed before any other Catholic institution in the United States placed the word University on its seal, its catalogs or its official documents. Even Harvard clung to the word college until 1864, Yale until 1887, and Columbia until 1912. Georgetown, about this later period, threw away College and became Georgetown University in name as she had been, through many years, in fact. Clearly St. Louis University was first in name.

In Reality. Here is the catalog of St. Louis University for the year 1845. Turn the pages, and one after another the announcements appear of a School of Divinity, a School of Medicine, a School of Law, and a College of Arts and Sciences; the four faculties that traditionally constitute a complete university. No other Catholic institution in the United States was offering at this early date any courses save such as might be given in the seminaries, large and small.

In reality, then, St. Louis is our oldest Catholic University. Georgetown, which is probably second, added to her seminary or college courses—those in medicine only after Father Peter Verhaegen, the former President of St. Louis University, now as Provincial of the Eastern Jesuits, had been a frequent visitor of Georgetown, discoursing no doubt with enthusiasm to the officers there on the successes of his old Western school.

Controverting the St. Louis claim, the Right Rev. John L. Belford, who is an alumnus of St. Mary's, Baltimore, had this to say in *America* of September 6:

Pope Pius VII in 1822 made St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore a University. Rev. Joseph W. Ruane's *Beginnings of St. Sulpice in the United States* gives the documents showing not only that St. Mary's was made a Pontifical University in 1822, but was created a University with all the usual powers and privileges by an Act of the Legislature of Maryland, passed on January 19, 1805. At that time the Sulpicians conducted an institution of the liberal arts and sciences on the model generally followed by American universities, such as Harvard and Yale. The College was very successful, in fact was one of the best in the United States, and numbered many distinguished Americans among its alumni. It was still a flourishing institution when the Sulpicians, in 1852, decided to confine their efforts to their original purpose of educating young men for the priesthood. The College was not succeeding in fostering vocations, and in the meantime, in 1848, St. Charles' Preparatory Seminary at Ellicott City had been opened. The date of St. Mary's University, January 19, 1805, of course is antecedent to the dates of both Georgetown and St. Louis.

For *Columbia* of May, 1839, the Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., then Dean of the Graduate School at Georgetown, wrote a brief history of that University in commemoration of the sesquicentennial of its foundation in which he said: "It was not the first with a university charter, however, for St. Mary's College, at one time conducted by the Sulpicians in Baltimore, had previously secured a university charter from the State of Maryland." He had said of Georgetown: "Its university charter dates from 1815 and makes it the oldest existing Catholic University in the country."

Mgr. Guilday in his *Life and Times of John Carroll* (p. 559) says: "During Father Grassi's rectorship the college was raised by an Act of Congress to the rank of a University (March 1, 1815)."

It is interesting to know that the first class in Georgetown Academy was taught in November, 1791, by John Edward de Montdésir, a seminarian from St. Mary's, which had formally opened its courses on October 3, although the first four Fathers and the first five students of St. Mary's had landed in Baltimore on July 10, 1791, and had lived together as a Community until the Seminary formally opened. The first and sole student at Georgetown for many months was William Gaston, whose distinguished career and character are well known. De Montdésir taught there until July 30, 1796.

It was one of the Sulpicians of Baltimore, Father Louis William Dubourg, afterwards Bishop and Archbishop, who raised Georgetown Academy to the rank of a college, of which he was President 1796-98. It was the same Dubourg who, as Bishop of New Orleans and St. Louis, opened an Academy in St. Louis which later developed into St. Louis University, under the Jesuit Fathers.

Another noteworthy fact is that Bishop Benedict J. Flaget who had taught at St. Mary's Seminary and at Georgetown, founded St. Mary's College in Bardstown, Kentucky. It was first conducted by secular priests. Bishop Flaget invited the Jesuits to take charge of it. Later they closed the Kentucky college and joined the college in Fordham. Just a hundred years ago, the arrangements for the founding of St. John's College, Fordham, were made by Bishop John Dubois, a Sulpician, and his former pupil and coadjutor, John Hughes.

One of Fordham's early presidents was Father John Larkin, a former Sulpician and very distinguished priest, who founded St. Francis Xavier's College, New York, of which he was the first President.

To me as a Sulpician alumnus, these intertwinings of the history of the early Sulpicians and the Jesuit Fathers are very interesting. I find it particularly interesting in this year 1941, when Fordham celebrates its one hundredth anniversary and St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore is celebrating its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary. The Church of America certainly owes a great debt of gratitude to these two bodies of educators.

The Rev. Thomas S. Bowdern, S.J., Dean of the Graduate School, Creighton University, Omaha, Nebraska made this note:

"In 1814 the Society of Jesus, suppressed since 1773, was restored throughout the world. About ten years later a little group of twelve Belgians, mostly novices, came to Missouri via Maryland settling in 1823 at Florissant, a suburb of St.

Louis, where they opened a school for Indians, the first Foreign Mission of the restored Society of Jesus. In another ten years, in 1832, these Jesuits obtained from the infant State of Missouri a university charter for the little college which the Bishop of St. Louis had turned over to them in 1828. Father De Smet was the first Dean of the little high school which the Jesuits made a college and then a university. Anthony Anderledy, S.J., a student of theology, there later became the General of the Society of Jesus.”

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL INDEX

A card index on American Catholic history numbering over 225,000 entries and said to be the only file of its kind in the country has been in preparation at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, since 1934.

Rev. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., Notre Dame archivist who is directing the work, declares that graduate students and research workers in American Catholic history, for whom the file was set up, have already found it of immeasurable value. Requests for bibliographies prepared from the new file have been received from many sections of the country and insofar as possible the University will continue to supply bibliographies to research historians.

The file includes an analytical index of the contents of the most important periodicals in American Catholic history. The cards contain a sentence on every person, place and date mentioned in the volumes and while one file is arranged chronologically the other is set up according to alphabet.

The file makes available to students much Catholic historical information that would otherwise be lost. The magazines covered in the process contain articles, documents, and other items of historical import, and after the material is extracted and filed it is a simple matter to find practically all available information on a man or event regardless of importance.

Already it has turned up considerable information that has not been indexed elsewhere. There are also items on personages in American Catholic history not known generally, and information on persons known, but not usually associated with the type of item recorded.

Historical works covered include *American Catholic Historical Researches*, twenty-nine volumes; *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society, forty-eight volumes; *Catholic Historical Review*, six volumes, and *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, five volumes; the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* and *Mid-America*; *Catholic Historical Records* of the United States Catholic Historical Society. Eventually other local Catholic historical reviews will be covered.

THE FIRST AMERICAN NOVEL

According to Philip Brooks, editor "Rare Books" *New York Times Book Review* (September 14, 1941), Robert H. Elias of the University of Pennsylvania, has compiled conclusive evidence that the first American novel published anywhere, and written by a native of the United States, was *Adventures of Alonso: Containing Some Striking Annecdotes of the present Prime Minister of Portugal*; published in London in 1775, and written by Thomas Atwood Digges of Warburton, Maryland. There were two editions of the novel, which was published in two volumes and had a variant title page, which puts it among the rare Americana. Mr. Brooks says:

It is probable that the work would have remained in limbo but for the existence of a variant title page with the added intelligence that it was (By a Native of Maryland, some years resident in Lisbon). All known copies bear the imprint of J. Bew and the date 1775, and the longer title is an indication of a second issue with the title page a cancel. Yale owns such a copy in pristine condition, bound in one volume in original boards, with end papers and fly leaves intact. An even more interesting, though less perfect, example of the second issue, with the two volumes separated and in contemporary boards, is in the New York Public Library. Inscribed on its title in pencil is the notation: "By Mr. Digges of Warburton in Maryland." Investigation seems to indicate that the handwriting is that of Thomas Atwood Digges of Warburton Manor, Maryland, and that he was actually the author of the book.

The novel is realistic and autobiographical and calculated in its discussions to give its British readers some idea of the intolerable political and economic conditions resented by the American colonists. Copies are also in the libraries at Harvard, the Antiquarian

Society, The Library Society of Philadelphia, and the British Museum. That the name of a Catholic, should, "lead all the rest" of American novelists, is a find

The author was a member of one of the pioneer Catholic families of the Maryland Calvert Colony. William, John and Charles Digges were among the insurgents, led by the Carrolls, who threatened a mass emigration in 1728 in protest against the penal laws and intolerance of the Protestant ascendancy that controlled affairs. Fathers John and Thomas Digges were Jesuit missionaries active "in the counties" for most of the concluding years of the last century. Like many of the youths of that era, Digges was sent to England to be educated, and spent some time after in Lisbon, where he was of great service to the cause of the American Revolution and its advocates stranded there. When he returned to his native land he was held in the highest esteem by Washington, Jefferson and the Madisons. He died in 1821.

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